# Valuing Landscape in Classical Antiquity

## Natural Environment and Cultural Imagination

*Edited by*
JEREMY McINERNEY
& INEKE SLUITER

*With the Assistance of*
BOB CORTHALS

MNEMOSYNE SUPPLEMENTS MONOGRAPHS ON GREEK AND LATIN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

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Valuing Landscape in Classical Antiquity

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*We dedicate this volume to the memory of our sisters*:

*Annette Helen McInerney*
*29 July 1949–24 April 2013*

*and*

*Marijke Sluiter*
*25 October 1960–11 April 1992*

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CHAPTER 1

# General Introduction

*Jeremy McInerney and Ineke Sluiter*

## 1 Introduction

'Where am I?'. Our physical orientation in place is one of the defining characteristics of our embodied existence. However, while there is no human life, culture, or action without a specific location functioning as its *setting*, people go much further than this bare fact in attributing meaning and value to their physical environment. The symbolic use of terrain is a *creation* of human culture, and this is where the notion of 'landscape' comes in, as it is used by each of the contributors to this volume. The definition offered by Denis Cosgrove is worth quoting in full. 'Landscape', according to Cosgrove, denotes 'the external world mediated through subjective human experience in a way that neither region nor area immediately suggest. Landscape is not merely the world we see, it is a construction, a composition of that world. Landscape is a way of seeing the world'.[1] Such a definition of landscape builds on the work of Henri Lefebvre, who over forty years ago showed so clearly that space is a human construct,[2] and it takes its place in the current 'spatial turn' in many different disciplines. Although the expression 'spatial turn' is somewhat imprecise, it nevertheless serves to mark a distinct feature of modern scholarship: an explicit interest in the role of space, landscape, and territory (and their distinctions) in both the shaping of ancient and modern communities, and as subjects of investigation for those wishing to better understand those communities.[3]

'Landscape' is about the symbolic perception of natural environment, about the way in which people read that environment for meaning. The question we will be particularly focused on in this volume is how the physical environment acquires the value that turns it into landscape: how are values mapped onto,

1 Cosgrove 1984, 13; cited by Lissa Crofton-Sleigh in this volume.

2 Lefebvre 1991 (first published in 1974).

3 Mintzker 2009, Skempis and Ziogas 2014b; introductory essays by Guldi about the spatial turn in anthropology, psychology, architecture, religion, literature, art history, sociology, and history at http://spatial.scholarslab.org/spatial-turn; for 'space' as a narratological category, see de Jong 2012; for a broad survey of the concept's current utility, see Williamson 2014. On 'territory', see Elden 2013.

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read into, or derived from locations, terrain, environment. This question forms a natural part of the larger enterprise of the Penn-Leiden Colloquia on Ancient Values, a long-term research project that has yielded eight volumes (including this one) since 2000. The colloquia have focused on the language, discourse, and conceptualization of values in classical antiquity.[4] While sometimes taking a particular ancient value as its point of departure, we have also investigated the culturally specific and historicized reactions in classical antiquity to phenomena that play a role in all human societies, as for instance, the relationship of a society to its past, or the importance of prosocial behaviors.[5] Nonetheless, the actual 'values' that help to conceptualize and express such behaviors (for instance, the notion of φιλανθρωπία, or φιλία) belong in a specific cultural and historical context and usually map onto value terms from other languages and cultures only imperfectly.[6] The underlying idea may be a 'natural value', but there is no 'natural' and universal value discourse, only a culturally specific one.[7]

In the case of landscape, too, we are dealing with the universal fact that human beings integrate their physical environment in their understanding of the world, thus turning it into 'landscape'; however, in order to understand any specific society, one needs to investigate the cultural mapping of this universal trait. While this necessitates the utmost sensitivity to the culture-internal discourse, and an attempt to understand what is going on 'in their terms',[8] a research problem such as this leaves ample scope for the application of modern theory, and for drawing parallels with issues in our own society. These three aspects, too, the current volume shares with the rest of the Penn-Leiden program.

We will begin this general introduction with a brief look at two texts from different times and places—Homer's *Odyssey* from the eighth century BCE

---

4 Earlier publications are Rosen and Sluiter 2003, 2006, 2010; Sluiter and Rosen 2004, 2008, 2012; Ker and Pieper 2014. A description of the conceptual trajectory of these investigations can be found in Sluiter 2008, 2–4; Sluiter and Rosen 2012, 6–7.

5 Rosen and Sluiter 2003 on *andreia*; Ker and Pieper 2014 on 'valuing the past'; Rosen and Sluiter 2010 on 'valuing others'.

6 Sluiter and Rosen 2010, 1–5.

7 This may be related to the notion of a 'social imaginary' coined by Charles Taylor and defined in Taylor 2004, 23 as 'the ways people imagine their social existence, how they fit together with others, how things go on between them and their fellows, the expectations that are normally met, and the deeper normative notions and images that underlie these expectations'; see Sluiter and Rosen 2010, 2–3.

8 See Rorty 1984, 50.

and Dio Chrysostom's *Euboean Discourse* from the second century CE—and analyze their respective understandings of landscape (section 2). After a brief comparison with modern polyvalent conceptions of landscape (section 3), we will set out the structure and contents of this volume (section 4), and end with a site linking antiquity and modernity: that of the battle of Alesia (section 5).

## 2 From the Island of the Cyclopes to Euboea

In *Odyssey* 9, the hero recounts his meeting with the Cyclopes. They live in isolation from each other, 'a crude and lawless people' (9.106), without councils, assemblies, or laws. As if to emphasize their anti-social existence they are described as each setting laws for his wife and children. They are a society without a notion of community. The audience will soon learn of Odysseus' disastrous encounter with these monsters who recognize none of the conventions of civilized life, but first the poet gives his audience a detailed description of the Cyclopes' physical environment, not only the mainland where they actually live, but also an island just off the coast. It is well watered, fertile, and offers an easy anchorage. Goats are roaming all over it, without any hunters to disturb them. There are no flocks on the island, nor are the deep meadows ploughed. How has this Eden managed to avoid being settled? The poet explains (*Od.* 9.125–130):

> The Cyclopes don't have boats with scarlet prows
> or men with skills to build them well-decked ships,
> which would enable them to carry out
> all sorts of things—like travelling to towns
> of other people, the way men cross the sea
> to visit one another in their ships—
> or men who might have turned their island
> into a well-constructed settlement.
>
> tr. JOHNSON

> οὐ γὰρ Κυκλώπεσσι νέες πάρα μιλτοπάρῃοι,
> οὐδ᾽ ἄνδρες νηῶν ἔνι τέκτονες, οἵ κε κάμοιεν
> νῆας ἐυσσέλμους, αἵ κεν τελέοιεν ἕκαστα
> ἄστε᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἀνθρώπων ἱκνεύμεναι, οἷά τε πολλὰ
> ἄνδρες ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλους νηυσὶν περόωσι θάλασσαν·
> οἵ κέ σφιν καὶ νῆσον ἐυκτιμένην ἐκάμοντο.

'The Cyclopes live', notes Carol Dougherty correctly, 'opposite the ideal colonial site'.[9] Dougherty argues that the inability of the Cyclopes to exploit the resources so tantalizingly close to their own land serves to mark them as inferior to the Greeks. The Greeks would never miss such an opportunity. The Cyclopes must be monstrous indeed to fail to use the land.

The landscape is so vividly evoked here that it is frequently taken as a description of a specific location. Thucydides, surely reflecting contemporary geographic ideas, locates the land of the Cyclopes in Sicily (6.2.1). The detailed description of the island fits particularly well with the island of Ischia in the Bay of Naples, site of the early colonial foundation of Pithecusae. Identifying the precise location of the island is less important, however, than recognizing that the description of the island really operates with two registers: the natural features of the location such as abundant water and verdant growth adumbrate what the land could yield if it were exploited by (civilized) humans. The colonial imagination is hard at work here, seeing the land not merely as terrain but as a set of possibilities, all the more easily realized if there are no indigenous inhabitants to worry about. The prominence of this potential, of these missed opportunities, in the poet's description serves to align the audience with the colonizer: the Cyclopes fail to put the land to use; no Greek would be guilty of such an egregious failing. Accordingly, the island is *terra nullius*.[10] It is supremely ironic that Polyphemus cries out that he has been tricked by 'Noman' since in doing so he is doing more than revealing Odysseus' cunning; once the Greeks come to establish their presence, Polyphemus, like all indigenous victims of the colonial encounter, will become a non-person, and the Greek colonists will take possession of Noman's land.

In any event, the lengthy account of the unpopulated island and its resources is not only a statement regarding ownership, but an evocation of the land as waiting for human exploitation. Landscape thus emerges as the original culture, in the sense of culture as the product of human cultivation and exploitation of natural resources. Its pristine state serves as a rebuke, and an easy diagnostic, marking the backwardness of the Cyclopes as much as their savagery, soon to be manifested all the more violently in Polyphemus' cannibalism, and setting it apart from the skill of humans, about to be demonstrated all the more dramatically by the wily Odysseus.

---

9 Dougherty 2001, 129.

10 Not incidentally, *terra nullius* is the dubious legal principle used to justify the dispossession of Koori (indigenous) Australians by the British. The principle was rejected by the High Court of Australia in Mabo versus Queensland (No. 2) in 1992. See Kirby 1993, 74.

Almost one thousand years later, in Dio's *Euboean Discourse*, a jaded and sickly city dweller, the embodiment of centuries of Greco-Roman civilization, gazes upon another landscape, a modest, carefully tended farm, at Caphereus, on the southeastern tip of Euboea. The city dweller has been shipwrecked and saved by a hunter, who takes him home to his small farm in the hills. The hunter's property is capable of sustaining a family and providing all the needs of a small human community, and, in a larger sense, capable of restoring the spirit of a man grown weary of that characteristic form of ancient Mediterranean culture, the city. Here the landscape is still the product of human action, but the emphasis is less on the potential and more on presenting cultivated land as a counterpoint to that most thoroughly human creation, the cityscape.

In the nostalgic haze that suffuses Dio's description of farm life (simple, self-sufficient, hardy), the kind of agricultural cultivation Homer sees as opposite to the rude pastoralism of the Cyclopes is juxtaposed to another opposite: the *polis*. In fact, for Dio the city is described in almost post-apocalyptic terms, as the activities of the rural landscape threaten to irrupt back into the urban sphere, breaking down boundaries and marking the debasement of city life. This is highlighted by the backstory told by the hunter, a figure of rustic simplicity and purity. He recounts his experiences in the big smoke where the local politicians unleashed all the rhetorical duplicity of city dwellers to paint him as a squatter and thief, until a kinder soul speaks up in his defense. The defender's description of the city/country polarity reminds us of how powerful that worldview remained for the people of antiquity,[11] from the patriarchs of the Hebrew Bible turning their backs on Sodom and Gomorrah, to Rutilius Namatianus rhapsodizing over his return to a peaceful and *otium*-filled life in late Roman Gaul.

The hunter is defended by an anonymous orator, who addresses the town's folk in the theater. He claims that two thirds of their land has been reduced to wilderness because of neglect and underpopulation. Lamenting the state of the landscape, both urban and rural, he claims that he would actually pay folks to farm his land, not only to make a profit but also because 'the sight of land occupied and under cultivation is a pleasing one'. He refers to the hunter and others like him as 'the industrious people of Caphereus' and contrasts them in their work ethic with those who farm the gymnasium and graze their cattle in the *agora* (Dio Chrys. *Or*. 7.39):

---

11 See Rosen and Sluiter 2006.

> You can doubtless see for yourself that they have made your gymnasium into a ploughed field, so that the Heracles and numerous other statues, some of heroes and others of gods, are hidden by the corn. You see too, day after day, the sheep belonging to this orator invade the market-place at dawn and graze about the council chamber and the executive buildings. Therefore, when strangers first come to our city, they either laugh at it or pity it.
>
> tr. COHOON and CROSBY, adapted
>
> βλέπετε γὰρ αὐτοὶ δήπουθεν ὅτι τὸ γυμνάσιον ὑμῖν ἄρουραν πεποιήκασιν, ὥστε τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ ἄλλους ἀνδριάντας συχνοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ θέρους ἀποκεκρύφθαι, τοὺς μὲν ἡρώων, τοὺς δὲ θεῶν· καὶ ὅτι καθ᾽ ἡμέραν τὰ τοῦ ῥήτορος τούτου πρόβατα ἕωθεν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐμβάλλει καὶ κατανέμεται τὰ περὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον καὶ τὰ ἀρχεῖα· ὥστε τοὺς πρῶτον ἐπιδημήσαντας ξένους τοὺς μὲν καταγελᾶν τῆς πόλεως, τοὺς δὲ οἰκτείρειν αὐτήν.

If Homer's description reflects the ethnographic gaze, so that landscape is framed as land for which one yearns, Dio's Euboea is suffused with another type of nostalgia, a desire for clarity, self-sufficiency, and wholeness. The same dissatisfaction with the under-exploitation of land, as in Homer, is evoked here. But there is an added element. Although Dio's city is not a colonial foundation, its position within the landscape still calls to mind a strict hierarchy: wilderness, to be exploited, cultivated land, to be kept outside the city, and the city center, a location for the communal activities of civilized men. Once again, landscape emerges as terrain filtered through the lens of culture, and the malaise that afflicts Dio's city dwellers is evoked by a fundamental breakdown of the proper boundaries between different types of landscape.[12]

The same hierarchy of landscapes operates in the work of Plutarch, Dio's near contemporary, and is nicely illustrated in the story Plutarch recounts concerning the devotees of Dionysus, the Thyiades. The bacchants range over Parnassus, possessed by the god and wake up in the center of Amphissa. The threat of the wild has been brought into the city, and it is only the intervention of the Amphissan women that prevents the killing of the Thyiades by the men of Amphissa, affronted by this incursion of the wild and the feminine into the world of the city, the world of order, the world of men.[13]

---

12 The intersection of landscape and memory, and especially the trope of deserted land and the decline of culture are themes discussed by Alcock 1993, 29–32 and 2001, 332–334.

13 McInerney 1999; 2003, 337–338.

In each of these cases, in Homers' evocation of the island opposite the Cyclopes' land or Dio's response to the rural and urban worlds of Euboea, the descriptions are shot through with implicit questions and assumptions about social life. How are we supposed to live? What mode of life is pleasant? Or useful, or suitable to human needs and desires? The autarchy enjoyed by the hunter's family is exalted in Dio's work as the closest a regime of human life can come to perfection but it is not the same as the pastoral isolation of the Cyclopes. In both cases the cultural imagination is closely connected to the natural environment and symbolically charged 'landscapes' are being produced.

## 3 Polyvalent Landscapes: To Safeguard and to Exploit

The complex interplay of memory, nostalgia, projection, and yearning that defines Homer's and Dio's landscapes is true of all landscapes and means that landscape is polyvalent: it can mean different things to different people, or even different things to the same person at different moments. A familiar instance of polyvalence can be found in the case of the National Parks of the United States. These are America's *temenê*, consecrated to the gods of nature, or better Nature, whose high priest, John Muir, helped craft a consciousness of Nature as a living being to whose protection he devoted himself. As Muir remarked, 'God's love is manifest in the landscape as in a face'.[14]

Conservation and preservation of a landscape necessarily involve the belief that it is, in fact, threatened, so that landscape is a fascinating phenomenon: ever receding, a perfect world in the process of slipping from our grasp.[15] Conversely, even before national parks were designated to save the land from exploitation, two hundred years ago, in 1812, the General Land Office and its successor, the Bureau of Land Management, were set up in the US to manage the exploitation of the land and to oversee its orderly transformation from virgin territory to a landscape of homesteads. The two contemporary government agencies—the National Park Service and the Bureau of Land Management—thus represent two tendencies visible in the ancient and modern understandings of landscape: terrain to be treasured as a tangible link with our Edenic

14 Muir 1917, 51.

15 Purves 2014, 37 asks, 'Does nature always suggest a place that is out of date and out of time? Does a turn to a natural landscape involve some kind of stepping outside time, into a different sphere of reality that exists somewhere (usually) in the past?'. The answer is yes.

past, and limitless resource to be exploited for our better future. National parks were designed with a mindset close to Dio's notion of nature as a balm for the weary soul, but Homer's ethnographic gaze, grimly fixed on a land of potential exploitation looks far more like the Bureau of Land Management's less romantic version of landscape. Moreover, while national parks seem tangible and inescapably real, their very existence is the direct result of the increasing urbanization of the US, which prompted the cutting out of tracts of land for recreational use. This recreation may involve hiking and climbing, but it equally involves importing the culture of the city into the very heart of the wilderness which is its counterpoint. In Yellowstone National Park there are now more than 25 restaurants and shops. As one skeptic writes, 'National Parks are synthesised products of urbanisation'.[16]

These two approaches, the romantic and the exploitative, both have real consequences. For example, the highly romanticized view of Nature as a place of return powerfully shapes the modern world's response to industrialization, just as Rome's identification with Arcadia both rooted and legitimized a notion of an autochthonous past and expressed some misgivings about the position of Rome at the heart of a Mediterranean empire. More than a simple opposition of nature versus city-culture, the romantic view has a temporal component that makes it especially appealing. Blake's 'dark Satanic Mills' (although sometimes also thought to refer to universities or Church of England churches) mark a horrible present ca. 1808, and the counterpoint is not merely the persistent goodness of England's mountains green, but also a dream of a time past when the feet of the Holy Lamb of God walked upon England's pleasant pastures, and the prediction of a time when they will do so once again. Our gaze, our fears, our desires, our dreams of the past, and our hopes for the future are all focused on and given expression through our engagement with the landscape.

At the opposite end of the spectrum, the exploitative mode also has a temporal element, offering us a glimpse of what we may expect if we exploit or manage the land to its fullest. Even as anodyne a notion as the French concept of *terroir* is not simply a collocation of soil, temperature, and sunlight, but a configuration of these whose appreciation allows us to grow the best fruit, the best produce of a given environment, in short to put the land to use. Epistemologically, such a view of the landscape is in linear descent from the archaic colonist's search for the best land, the epic poets' portrayal of Cyclops and Cacus, the former tamed by the Greek Odysseus, the latter by the Greek

16 Jacob 2014.

Heracles, whose travels around the Mediterranean took a landscape of savages and outlaws and tamed it, turning it to Greek manners.[17]

## 4 In This Volume …

Clearly, the chapters in this volume share a lot of common ground and it would have been possible to order them in different ways. We have chosen to create thematic parts, moving first—in a non-essentialist way—from the role of 'mountains' in the ancient imagination (4.1), to that of 'underground and underworld' (4.2). The latter then segues into several chapters devoted to how a sense of the sacred comes to be associated with specific aspects of the physical environment (4.3). Battlefields are a special category of landscapes, embodying the memory of wars (4.4). And finally, a number of chapters deal with various ways in which people move from one place to another, creating differently valued landscapes in the process (4.5).

### 4.1 *Mountains and Myths*

We framed our investigations of landscapes of value with two texts drawn from either end of a millennium of Mediterranean antiquity in order to draw attention to some qualities of the category of landscape that recur throughout many of the chapters of this volume. Some of these themes are worth identifying from the start. First, it will become apparent that even though we are not *primarily* focused on the physical properties of water, soil, climate, temperature, the seasons, and so forth, nevertheless the landscape develops out of the interplay of humans with the physical environment around them. Accordingly, we begin the volume with three chapters that together reveal a few of the many ways in which *mountains* recursively shape and are shaped by human consciousness. Richard Buxton examines the place of volcanoes in classical thought through a case-study of Mount Etna. Buxton shows that the mythological explanations of the volcano's liquid fire could be countered by a writer like Lucretius, speculating (correctly) that the caverns of the volcano were filled with wind and air. Eruptions are natural processes, not the result of divine conflicts. Yet different types of discourse (scientific, mythological, and poetic) exist if not harmoniously, then at least without acrimony. Buxton warns us against separating the strands of ancient thought into lines too discretely distinct. Landscape, though present for all to see, is seen differently by all (chapter two).

17 D'Agostino 1996.

Jason König's contribution demonstrates that mountains are fundamental to the broad geographic order imposed on the known world by writers such as Eratosthenes and Strabo. As a natural field for narration, landscape provides a terrain onto which can be mapped all manner of cultural ideas. And just as mountains divide and separate the world into orderly compartments, so too does the conquest of mountains equal the pacification of the world. In Strabo and Aelius Aristides mountains provide not just the setting but a geological analogue for Rome's conquest. Rome dominates the world literally as well as metaphorically (chapter three).

The last chapter in the part devoted to mountains deals with the intersection of myth and geography: Christina Williamson explores the place of Teuthrania as a focal point in the landscape of Pergamon. Drawing on Merleau-Ponty's notion of visual perception as a kind of possession and on viewshed analysis, Williamson analyses the position of Kalerga Tepe in the visual landscape of Pergamon. The peak foregrounds the cohesion of places within the Caecus valley and provides a fixed point for travelers entering the region from the west and south. The mythological associations of the spot with king Teuthras and the mythological underpinnings of the Attalid dynasty, expressed in the Telephus myth, meant that Teuthrania collapsed space and time into a single Attalid here-and-now, giving the present state a geographic, mythical, and temporal antecedent that reinforced the authority and unity of the current hierarchy. Williamson's landscape is fundamentally ideological (chapter four).

As these chapters illustrate, the manufacturing of stories out of terrain is an open-ended and recursive system. It permits many, even contradictory voices. A contemporary example may serve as a counterpoint. One of the most famous landmarks in Australia, the Three Sisters, is a rock formation sacred to the Gundungurra people. It is located in the Blue Mountains, two hours' drive west of Sydney. A number of legends are connected with this distinctive rock formation, actually comprised of three soft sandstone peaks. The stories normally involve three girls named Meehni, Wimlah, and Gunnadoo. In some stories they are petrified by their father to save them from being attacked by a bunyip (a malevolent bush spirit), but in the most widely known story (among white Australians certainly) they are turned to stone after their tribe forbids them from marrying their lovers, who come from outside the tribe. Similar stories of metamorphosis are familiar in high literary sources like Ovid, but an even closer parallel is probably Antoninus Liberalis, whose short tales often connect a specific landmark with a mythological event. He tells, for example, of the wolf that ate the sheep of Peleus and was turned into a rock: 'And this wolf changed through divine will into a rock which for a very long time was between Locris and the land of the Phocians' (καὶ ὁ λύκος οὗτος

κατὰ δαίμονα μεταβαλὼν ἐγένετο πέτρος καὶ ἄχρι πλείστου διέμενε μεταξὺ Λοκρίδος καὶ τῆς Φωκέων γῆς, Ant. Lib. 38.5).[18]

Flexibility and mutability are only a step short of outright fabrication. To return to our example of the Three Sisters, it has also been claimed that the specific legend of the girls' forbidden love is a fiction made up by a white fellow, Mel Ward, in the 1920s, to develop interest in the spot as a tourist destination.[19] This raises some interesting questions regarding the various ways in which stories attached to a landscape are subject to manipulation or contestation. Because landscape overlaps with narration and mythopoesis it is subject to ambiguity, multivocality, and disagreement.

### 4.2 *Underground and Underworld: From Terrain to* Stimmung

The second part of the volume (chapters five and six) moves from the heights of the mountains to the depth of the underworld, exploring both the physical underpinnings and the depressing effects of its imagined characteristics. Julie Baleriaux's chapter on Hades is a good example of reading landscape as a terrain that cannot be divorced from the human imagination. Avoiding a crude environmental determinism, Baleriaux finds that the peculiar features of a karstic environment—disappearing and reemerging rivers, flooding, and drainage problems—influenced Greek ideas about and representations of the physical conditions in the underworld (chapter five). In this as in other chapters, the most obvious manifestations of landscape are much more than a backdrop against which human actions occur. Kathrin Winter (chapter six) also explores the underworld, specifically in the plays of Seneca, and once again emphatically rejects the notion of landscape as backdrop. Instead, the *Stimmung*, or atmosphere evoked by Seneca's descriptions serves to attune his audience to the coming horrors they will soon witness. Landscape, even in narration, is an active, not passive component of the drama.

### 4.3 *The Sacred*

As is the case with the underworld, the power of the sacred is perceived to be anchored in the landscape. Sanctuaries and the symbolic force of their physical qualities are the subject of the chapters in part 3. In chapter seven, Margaret Miles assembles evidence from literature and archaeology to show how the experience of the sacred was created out of celestial orientation, sea routes, vistas, temple gardens, sensory experiences involving incense, and

18 See also the chapter by Elizabeth Minchin in this volume.

19 Thomas 2003.

most especially choral music and performance. Stories of the gods' births, travels, favorite locations, and accomplishments foregrounded landscape, and the active exploration of this in myth and hymn helped to create a space that was both sacred and emphatically Greek.[20]

The many elements identified by Miles remind us that landscape is constructed out of a necessary and reciprocal relationship between what we might call 'the natural' (for want of a better description) and 'the social'. This is a theme of much recent scholarship and is a touchstone for many of our contributors.[21] Rianne Hermans, for example, tackles the Alban Hills in a study that demonstrates such a necessary conjunction of literary sources and archaeological data. Yet, following scholars like Denis Feeney and Henk Versnel she does not try to produce a seamless reconstruction of landscape. It is the inconsistencies and the incongruities that capture the complexity of the landscape experience. Hermans examines the rituals located in the Alban Hills, particularly at the sanctuary of Juno Sospita. Examining the Pantanacci votive deposit that came to light in 2012, and the peperino serpent statue found with it, she suggests that we have here a material reference to the story of the serpent (*draco*) that protected Lanuvium, a story going back to Propertius. Rather than being a fixed and unchanging figure, the serpent (and the landscape in which it operates) can shift from divine avatar to pagan monster depending on the poets and peasants experiencing it, in cult, cave, or hagiography (chapter eight).

The relationship between landscape and sacredness is a complicated one. As Betsey Robinson shows in chapter nine on the 'charismatic landscapes' of Delphi and the Vale of the Muses, the encounter with the sacred moved along two quite different vectors in those two sites. At Delphi the crowded built environment produced a rich charismatic chorography, itself layered on 'natural' features such as rocks and springs, to produce a thick experience. On the other hand, the Vale of the Muses, Robinson contends, was left underbuilt in order to enhance the numinous qualities of the landscape. Intentional rusticity represents a very sophisticated response to, and modification of the environment. She also demonstrates that the use of early Christian sources, notably Paul's letters, can be helpful for our understanding of the appreciation of *pneuma* in the early imperial period. 'Numinosity', which Robinson identifies in the landscape, is not an easy concept to pin down, and the basic question of how ancient people experienced the divine in particular settings is one that probably merits more than one answer.

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20 McInerney 2015.

21 Relph 1997, Malpas 1999, Sheldrake 2001, Cresswell 2004, Purves 2010. For a useful overview see the Introduction to Gilhuly and Worman 2014.

### 4.4 *Battlefields and Memory of War*

In part 4, we turn to another set of particularly charged landscapes: battlefields and the sites of wars, locales that tend to claim privileged positions in social memory. Chapter ten contains Elizabeth Minchin's detailed treatment of the heroic tumuli of the Troad, showing that features in the landscape prompt memory but also how that memory is subject to distortion. Adopting an approach from cognitive psychology, Minchin explores the relationship between monument, image, memory, and the layers of story-telling that accrete to a landscape falsely remembered. Minchin's Troad is another example of landscape existing at the intersection of the natural and the social. The relationship is modulated in various ways. Memory, myth, story-telling, and ritual all play a part.

Minchin's chapter is in a rich tradition of studies drawing on theories of social memory. Simon Schama, for example, has demonstrated that memory is a vital component in our manufacturing of a thoughtworld of experiences, sounds, and sensations out of the rocks and rivers we encounter. He has also emphasized the entanglement that makes a (natural) landscape almost indistinguishable from the stories attached to it: '… once a certain idea of landscape, a myth, a vision, establishes itself in an actual place, it has a peculiar way of muddling categories, of making metaphors more real than their referents; of becoming, in fact, part of the scenery'.[22]

Battlefields often served as *lieux de mémoire*, and this is also true for the story of Rome's assertion of world power. Bettina Reitz-Joosse and Annemarie Ambühl each examine a landscape that exists both as a battleground and as poetic terrain. In chapter eleven, Reitz-Joosse examines the battle of Actium, and its unusual battlefield, the seas facing the coastal plain where Augustus built an entire city to commemorate his victory: Nicopolis. She finds Propertius fashioning an identity for the Actian sea that raises it to the level of a protagonist in the climactic events of 31 BCE. Infected, restless, grief-stricken, it serves as powerful counterpoint to the bombastic, triumphalist monuments of the mainland. The interplay of memory with ecphrastic description seems a particularly distinctive feature of Roman narration and other bloody locations have yielded similar results to attentive observers.[23]

In chapter twelve, Annemarie Ambühl notes that the historiographical sources for the crucial battle of Pharsalus in 48 BCE are scarce and the location of the battlefield itself is still contested, while at the same time demon-

22 Schama 1995, 61.

23 Makins 2013 and Seidman 2014.

strating on the basis of a detailed literary analysis how Lucan exploits a long chain of intertextual references to Thessaly, in order to create a landscape that inevitably forms an eerie embodiment of the traumatic heritage of civil war, 'where geography and mythology, poetry and history merge into a paradigmatic landscape of anti-memory and anti-values'.

### 4.5 *Moving Around*

Vomiting volcanoes and bloody battlefields are exceptional; they are not the usual terrain in which ordinary people find themselves. We have chosen, therefore, to complement the exotic landscapes of mountains, the underworld, numinosity, and battlefields with a part in which we see people moving around, by choice or necessity, between different locales. This ranges from people's down-to-earth choices to live elsewhere (migration) to literary representations of victorious homecomings, to the projection into the future of a deeply meaningful landscape (the foundation of Rome), to the experience of exile (Ovid), and, finally, to a tour guide's construction of the experience of a particular city (Pausanias on Thebes).

This part starts with the reality check on migration in Danielle Kellogg's chapter thirteen. One of the most interesting developments in archaeology of the last generation has been a fresh attention to the question of how people of the ancient Mediterranean experienced locality. Using modeling techniques such as Least Cost Analysis, Kellogg explores the decidedly unpoetic experience of Athenians living in and moving around Attica. What emerges is a much more nuanced picture than the crude center-periphery model assumed by most to characterize the ancient experience of being a resident of Attica. Repeated movement into, out of, and around Attica created a geographic unity focused on Athens but this was as much the result of different types of migration and decisions about where to reside, as it was the product of myths of autochthony. As Kellogg notes, much remains to be done to flesh out landscape as a regional phenomenon, but her chapter represents a stimulating first attempt.

Kellogg's emphasis on the complex relationship between actual people and the specific locales through which they move on a daily basis reminds us that there is a phenomenology of place that has as yet been only barely articulated in relation to the ancient world. One of the most influential phenomenological geographers, Yi-Fu Tuan, would identify language and even the human body as elements that shape our engagement with the natural landscape.[24] The

24 Tuan 1977, 34–45, and 1991.

irrepressible human urge to tell stories is born of this deep-seated compulsion to render location into narrative, creating place, and, indeed, landscape. The most startling testament to this compulsion to narrate is The Dreamtime of Koori (indigenous) Australians. Here, an entire ontology is centered on the act of retelling creation. The Dreamtime of creation recurs each time a corroboree occurs, when by song and dance the initiated members of a tribe, clan, or moiety once again place rainbow serpent, goanna, and a hundred other spirits, including the ancestors, back into the world at specific watering holes or in particular rocks and outcrops. The relationship between the humans and their land incorporated in this system of song and dance is absolutely visceral. Bruce Chatwin, for example, tells a story of crossing the Outback with an Aboriginal Elder when he and his driver become aware of the old man's increasing distress as they drive quickly over the empty terrain. They finally realize that the old man cannot sing the song line for the route of the Tjilpa Men quickly enough. 'Limpy had learned his Native Cat couplets for walking pace at four miles an hour, and we were travelling at twenty-five'.[25] The episode dramatically underscores the complete integration of terrain and culture that constitutes landscape. It is terrain rendered into text.

The landscapes discussed in the earlier chapters, whether primarily experienced as mythological, poetic, ambiguous, or contested, share frequently an underlying set of binary tensions that we might term 'home' and 'away' (in which the category of 'away' may refer to time or place).[26] Sometimes that dialectic is at the very core of the role of landscape in poetic thinking. Maša Ćulumović explores this in her study of Pindar's epinician poems, those famously obdurate songs, in which mythical topographies and actual locations vie with each other for the audience's attention. Ćulumović sees Pindar putting two locations into creative alignment, breaking down barriers between the site of the victor's victory and his hometown. The travels of athletes, fans, and poet, and especially the homecoming to family, friends, and city are represented in the song's repeated allusions to journeys to the sites of the games and back, creating a shared space of splendor and celebration. The effect is the creation of a network of places. This creative manipulation of mythic landscapes must be viewed against the background of the panhellenic function of the games. The poems express a panhellenic landscape experienced by the audience through the performance of the odes (chapter fourteen).

25 Chatwin 1987, 292.

26 For the expression see Baragwanath 2008, 136.

A similar approach informs the chapter by Lissa Crofton-Sleigh (chapter fifteen): she uses the notion of 'creative anachronism' to investigate treatments of the Hercules-Cacus episode in order to show how the poets of the Augustan age fashioned a view of landscape, history, and memory to serve the needs of a Roman audience coming to terms with the bloody (re)birth of a new Roman world. The landscapers evoked in the poetry of Vergil and Ovid, notably Hercules in the Cacus episodes, by their interventions create landscapes of value to be appreciated by later human observers for whom they resonate with memories and personal experiences.

The dialectic of home and away also characterizes Ovid's exilic poetry. Christoph Pieper explores this aspect of Ovid's exile to Tomi on the shores of the Black Sea and demonstrates how the apparent polarities of Roman culture and barbarianism could be reconciled in Ovid's poems. According to Pieper, the experiences of the implied author point to a way forward out of the conundrum of a hopelessly barbarian region resisting Romanization in the mutual acculturation of Romans and Tomitans (chapter sixteen).

Evidently, the movements around and between literary landscapes of Greek and Roman civilization exist at the intersection of geography and mythology. This is also the case in Pausanias' touring information on Thebes, as discussed in Greta Hawes' chapter on the walls of Thebes (chapter seventeen). Hawes identifies the building blocks of such a construction of landscape under the rubrics of stones, names, stories, and the bodies of dead heroes. These are the elements that resonate over and over, ceaselessly reinforcing an emphasis on 'sevenness'. She speaks of the 'essentialist lure' of 'seven-gated Thebes' even as she shows that this was in fact a contingent, flexible, ever-changing permanence.

## 5 Conclusion

This volume does not pretend to have exhausted the subject of landscape and if it provokes further study in this field, then so much the better. One trajectory in particular deserves attention. The subject of landscape is a field in which Classical Studies most emphatically reveals its importance for understanding the modern world. Modern nation states need to narrate themselves. Without stories anchoring their identity in specific locations, nations are no more than hortatory fictions. Ancient landscapes are necessarily a part of this narratological coming into being. One notable example may stand for many others. At Venarey-les-Laumes, in Burgundy, it is now possible to visit a 'Centre d'Interprétation' close to the site of the battle of Alesia and Caesar's defeat

FIGURE 1.1 *Inscription at the Venarey-les-Laumes train station*
CREDIT: WIKIMEDIA COMMONS

of Vercingetorix in 52 BCE. Excavations here began under the patronage of Napoleon III, whose visage adorns the monumental statue of Vercingetorix that still stands high above the plain. The ancient battle continues to retain a powerful hold on the imagination of those in France who wish their country to be seen as the home of Celtic culture and the precursor of a pan-European culture. But how to claim this preeminence when Vercingetorix lost? The defeat of Vercingetorix has been turned into a parable of greater evils averted. Had Gaul not lost to Caesar, the Gauls would have been left to face the subsequent Germanic invasions without having first been 'romanized'.[27] Outside the train station at Venarey-les-Laumes is pinned to the wall an inscription that sums up the heady mixture of national mythologizing and local terrain that, blended together, fashion land into landscape:

1949
Dans cette plaine il y a deux mille ans
la Gaule a sauvé l'honneur
en opposant à la voix de Vercingétorix

27 Dietler 1998.

ses peuples aux légions de César.
Après l' échec de ses armes
reconciliée avec le vainqueur,
unie, défendue contre les invasions
germaniques,
ouverte aux lumières de la Grèce et de Rome
elle a connu trois siècles de paix.

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# PART 1

## *Mountains*

CHAPTER 2

# Mount Etna in the Greco-Roman *imaginaire*: Culture and Liquid Fire

*Richard Buxton*

## 1 Introduction

For most modern observers, mountains surely constitute one of the most distinctive aspects of the landscape of Greece, along with the multitude of islands and the ever-present sea. The same must surely hold—again, from the perspective of the modern observer—for the much larger territory conventionally described as 'the Greek world', taking that phrase to include western Asia Minor, southern Italy and Sicily, as well as the lands subsequently annexed into that world by Alexander of Macedon. As for 'the Greco-Roman world' implied by my title, what proportion of the territory ruled by Rome can be regarded as mountainous varies, needless to say, according to what stage of republican or imperial history we have in mind: at different historical moments we need to think far beyond the Seven Hills, the Apennines and the Alps, to include the Atlas, the Pyrenees and other ranges in Spain, as well as summits in Albania, Greece, eastern Turkey and Armenia, as far as the Caucasus. In spite of all the variations, however, for Rome as for Greece, thinking about landscape entails thinking about mountains.

But how were mountains perceived in antiquity? Some years ago I attempted to analyze the place occupied by mountains within the Greek mythical *imaginaire*. When I revised that paper to take account of subsequent scholarship, for better or worse my broad conclusions did not change.[1] Those conclusions were that Greeks perceived mountains (1) as situated outside the world of civilization; (2) as 'wild'; (3) as belonging 'before', both as the location of humanity's first dwellings, and as the birthplace of certain gods and heroes; and (4) as privileged places for reversals and metamorphoses. In the present chapter, which I offer as a supplement to, and partial modification of, my earlier work, I want to revisit those conclusions, in order to see whether they remain valid when applied to one very particular mountain: Mount Etna (Greek Αἴτνη (*Aitnê*); Latin *Aetna*).

1 Buxton 1992 = 2013.

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The particularity of Etna is due principally, of course, to the fact that it is a volcano. Today it is almost continuously active, and the combined evidence of geology, archaeology and the historical record strongly suggests that the same was true in antiquity.[2] *Qua* volcano, then, Etna is already distinctive geologically in the context of the Greco-Roman world. But it is also distinctive culturally, in virtue of its geographical location in Sicily. In the light of various political developments—notably the westward expansion of archaic and classical Greek culture through colonization and military adventure, and the subsequent extension of Roman power and influence in Sicily and in Greece—Etna may be said to have moved, culturally speaking, from a solely Sicilian context, to inclusion in 'the Greek world', to incorporation into 'the Greco-Roman world'. So although the starting and end points of my argument will involve an examination of the place of Etna within the *Greek* imagination, the scope of the chapter will necessarily involve other contexts too, especially Roman contexts.

In classical antiquity, Etna generated considerable imaginative and speculative interest, and figured in a wide range of different types of discourse: mythological/religious, historical, geographical, geological, botanical, political, philosophical. In the main part of this chapter I shall review a series of examples of this interest and these types of discourse; after that I shall generalize. Along the way I shall consider a question which is self-evidently of relevance to a volcano but not to other types of mountain: namely, how are we to explain eruptions? Many of the texts we shall consider touch on this matter, and in so doing raise important issues about the boundaries (or absence of boundaries) between mythical and scientific explanations of 'natural' phenomena.

## 2 Texts

### 2.1 *Myth*

Pindar's first *Pythian Ode* includes an account of Etna in eruption. Composed for the Syracusan tyrant Hieron, whose chariot won the race at Delphi in 470, the poem contrasts order and harmony with chaos and cacophony. Aligned

2 See Stothers and Rampino 1983; Chester, Duncan, Guest and Kilburn 1985; Johnston 2005. Note also the delightful comment by Darley 2011, 83 (with reference to perceptions by eighteenth-century travelers) about the contrast between Vesuvius and Etna: 'At times Etna seemed to be the useful counterpoint to Vesuvius, oddly less thrilling because it was so dependably and regularly active, a kind of sober sibling to the excitable mainland volcano'. For an authoritative account of volcanic phenomena by a present-day volcanologist, see Oppenheimer 2011.

with harmony are Zeus and Apollo, the song of the Muses, Pindar's lyre, and (at least as Pindar advantageously presents him) Hieron himself, who founded for his son the city of Aetna, a settlement (location still uncertain) at the foot of the volcano: order imposed on chaos. Opposed to order and harmony, cosmologically speaking, is Typhos, Zeus' monstrous adversary, now confined in Tartarus, but simultaneously underlying the whole stretch of land and sea between Etna and Cumae, from Sicily to the coast of Campania. Opposed to order and harmony, historically speaking, is the shrill war-cry, ἀλαλατός (72), of the Carthaginians and Etruscans, whose defeat by Hieron is set by Pindar alongside the beating of some other 'barbarians' at Salamis and Plataea (71–80). Underpinning and enriching these cosmological and historical oppositions are symbolic dichotomies between fire and water, burning and quenching. Such is the soothing power of the lyre, sings Pindar, that its music can even, albeit temporarily, quench Zeus' thunderbolt, and lull to sleep the eagle perched on Zeus' sceptre (1–10). As for Typhos (17–28):

> but now
> the sea-girt cliffs above Cumae,
> and Sicily too, press down his shaggy chest, and the pillar of the sky constrains him,
> snowy Etna, all-year nurse of sharp frost,
> from whose inmost recesses belch forth the purest
> founts (παγαί) of unapproachable fire. In the daytime her rivers (ποταμοί) pour out (προχέοντι) a fiery stream (ῥόον) of smoke,
> while in the darkness of night
> the crimson flame rolling along carries rocks down to the deep plain of the sea with a crashing roar.
> That monster sends up the most terrible springs of Hephaestus,
> a wondrous monster to look upon, a wonder also
> to hear of from those present.
> Such a creature is bound within the dark and leafy heights of Etna
> and the plain, and his bed scratches and goads the whole length of his back stretched out against it.[3]

> … νῦν γε μὰν
> ταί θ' ὑπὲρ Κύμας ἁλιερκέες ὄχθαι
> Σικελία τ' αὐτοῦ πιέζει στέρνα λαχνάεντα· κίων δ' οὐρανία συνέχει,

3 All translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

νιφόεσσ᾽ Αἴτνα, πανέτης χιόνος ὀξείας τιθήνα·
τᾶς ἐρεύγονται μὲν ἀπλάτου πυρὸς ἁγνόταται
ἐκ μυχῶν παγαί· ποταμοὶ δ᾽ ἁμέραισιν μὲν προχέοντι ῥόον καπνοῦ
αἴθων᾽· ἀλλ᾽ ἐν ὄρφναισιν πέτρας
φοίνισσα κυλινδομένα φλὸξ ἐς βαθεῖαν φέρει πόντου πλάκα σὺν πατάγῳ.
κεῖνο δ᾽ Ἁφαίστοιο κρουνοὺς ἑρπετὸν
δεινοτάτους ἀναπέμπει· τέρας μὲν θαυμάσιον προσιδέσθαι, θαῦμα δὲ καὶ
παρεόντων ἀκοῦσαι,
οἷον Αἴτνας ἐν μελαμφύλλοις δέδεται κορυφαῖς
καὶ πέδῳ, στρωμνὰ δὲ χαράσσοισ᾽ ἅπαν νῶτον ποτικεκλιμένον κεντεῖ.

Etna's lava flows in rivers and springs and streams, and may even extend as far as the sea: a fiery liquid flowing into another liquid, which ultimately quenches it. But Etna keeps on flowing; Typhos is always down but never out. The victory of order over chaos, harmony over cacophony, is only ever temporary. And let us not forget what it was that hurled Typhos down to Tartarus in the first place: Zeus' thunderbolt, supreme embodiment of violent fire. Zeus' own relationships with fire and order are themselves far from univocal.

Another early mythological evocation of Etna's fires can be found in the Aeschylean *Prometheus Bound*. Exactly *how* early is, of course, disputed, as is the play's authorship; but this is not the place to go into those matters.[4] What does concern us is the dramatic context. On stage throughout is the eponymous Titan; like Typhos he is a brutally confined opponent of Zeus, though in Prometheus' case the imprisonment is outside the normal world rather than beneath it. His gift of fire to mortals was an act whose logic is that fire can be benign. Indeed you might, if you were of a poetical cast of mind, call it 'your flower, a gleam of fire, which is the source of all skills' (τὸ σὸν … ἄνθος, παντέχνου πυρὸς σέλας) (7). And that is just what the brutal Kratos does call it, in paradoxically gentle and in two senses flowery language, when at the start of the play he exhorts the reluctant blacksmith-god Hephaestus to use his technology to pinion Prometheus to the rock. Later, when Prometheus is in dialogue with Oceanus, the emphasis turns to Etna. Whereas the narrative voice of *Pythian* 1 is broadly aligned with the position of Zeus, Prometheus sympathises with Typhos, like himself a victim of the president of the immortals (358–372):

4 In comparing the Pindaric account with that in *Prometheus Bound*, Berranger-Auserve 2004, 39 confidently but rashly maintains that the two texts 'ne sont séparés dans le temps que de quelques années …'.

But the unsleeping weapon of Zeus came upon him
…
he was burnt to ashes and his strength blasted from him by the lightning bolt.
And now, a helpless, sprawling bulk,
he lies close to the narrows of the sea,
pressed down beneath the roots of Etna.
And seated on the topmost summit Hephaestus hammers the molten ore.
From there, one day, shall burst forth
rivers of fire (ποταμοὶ πυρός), devouring with savage jaws
the level fields of Sicily, land of fair crops.
Such rage shall Typhos boil out (ἐξαναζέσει χόλον)
with hot jets of appalling, fire-breathing surge,
although incinerated by the lightning-bolt of Zeus.

ἀλλ' ἦλθεν αὐτῷ Ζηνὸς ἄγρυπνον βέλος
…
ἐφεψαλώθη κἀξεβροντήθη σθένος.
καὶ νῦν ἀχρεῖον καὶ παράορον δέμας
κεῖται στενωποῦ πλησίον θαλασσίου
ἰπούμενος ῥίζαισιν Αἰτναίαις ὕπο.
κορυφαῖς δ' ἐν ἄκραις ἥμενος μυδροκτυπεῖ
Ἥφαιστος, ἔνθεν ἐκραγήσονταί ποτε
ποταμοὶ πυρὸς δάπτοντες ἀγρίαις γνάθοις
τῆς καλλικάρπου Σικελίας λευροὺς γύας.
τοιόνδε Τυφὼς ἐξαναζέσει χόλον
θερμοῖς ἀπλάτου βέλεσι πυρπνόου ζάλης,
καίπερ κεραυνῷ Ζηνὸς ἠνθρακωμένος.

There is one continuity between the fiery thunderbolt and the crop-destroying streams of lava, another between the destructive fires within Etna and the creative forge of Hephaestus on its summit.[5] Order and chaos figure once

5 Sommerstein 2008, 483 n. 42: 'The idea here is that Typhon breathes or vomits streams of fire (cf. Pindar, *Pythian* 1.25) which heat Hephaestus' forge'. A similar continuity can be seen in Callimachus, *Hymn to Delos* 141–147: 'As when Mount Etna smoulders with fire and all its inner depths are shaken as the giant beneath the earth, Briares, shifts to his other shoulder, and furnaces and crafted works roar beneath the tongs of Hephaestus; and fire-wrought basins

more, as in Pindar; so does sovereignty, again as in Pindar. Exactly how Zeus' sovereignty is to be evaluated is a big question, perhaps finally impossible to resolve in view of the fragmentariness of the other plays in the trilogy. But one contributory theme is how we perceive the various fires on display, including those at the summit of, and within, Mount Etna.

Etna's liquid fires recur often in Greco-Roman myth. In Callimachus' *Hymn to Artemis* the goddess finds the Cyclopes on the island of Lipara, at the anvils of Hephaestus, forging a drinking-trough for Poseidon's horses; among the places said to cry out in echo to their work is Mount Etna (56). Vergil too develops the Cyclopic theme. 'How often', he exclaims in the first *Georgic* (471–473), 'did we see Etna burn as it flowed (*undantem ... Aetnam*) onto the fields of the Cyclopes with fire from her burst furnaces, and balls of flame and molten rocks (*liquefactaque ... saxa*) roll'. But it is in *Aeneid* 3 that Vergil really throws off the linguistic shackles, when he describes how Aeneas and his men drift along the Cyclopes' coast, near which Etna thunders and crashes and belches up, from the lowest depths to the sky, liquid rocks (*liquefactaque saxa* again, *Aen.* 3.576) and the torn-off entrails of the mountain, piled on top of the body of the thunderbolted giant Enceladus—another, differently-named variant of the oppressed monster Typhoeus/Typhos/Typhon.[6] (Incidentally, both Aulus Gellius citing the philosopher Favorinus (*NA* 17.10), and Macrobius in the *Saturnalia* (5.17.7–14) would later heavily castigate Vergil's account compared with that of Pindar; Macrobius, in particular, holds nothing back, finding Vergil's version clumsy, overdone, and at times meaningless.)[7]

It is true that Etna's liquid fires were not ubiquitous in the mythological tradition. They are largely absent, for example, from Euripides' *Cyclops*, even though Polyphemus' dwelling is repeatedly located beside Mount Etna (the only explicit reference to volcanism is in line 298, where Etna is called 'the rock which drips with fire').[8] In any event, Etna's liquid fires became proverbial. In the treatise *On the Sublime* ascribed to Longinus, the impact of literary sublimity is illustrated through analogy with the effect upon us of the sublime in nature (*Subl.* 35.4):[9]

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and tripods resound terribly as they fall one upon the other; such then was the crash of [Ares'] well-rounded shield'.

6 Callimachus gives the giant yet another name: Briares (see preceding note). On volcanic aspects of Polyphemus himself, see Leroux 2004, 59; for the theme of the 'oppressed giant' in later Latin poetry, see Leroux 2004, 61.

7 More on Vergil and volcanoes in Glenn 1971, Sullivan 1972, and Johnston 1996.

8 A possible but implicit reference is at 599: 'Hephaestus, lord of Etna'. Cf. Aubriot 2004, 14 n. 5.

9 See Billault 2004.

> Nor do we think this little flame that we kindle more worthy of amazement than the craters of Etna, whose eruptions bring up rocks and whole hills out of the depth, and sometimes pour forth rivers of that earth-born, spontaneous fire.
>
> οὐδέ γε τὸ ὑφ’ ἡμῶν τουτὶ φλογίον ἀνακαιόμενον … τῶν τῆς Αἴτνης κρατήρων ἀξιοθαυμαστότερον νομίζομεν, ἧς αἱ ἀναχοαὶ πέτρους τε ἐκ βυθοῦ καὶ ὅλους ὄχθους ἀναφέρουσι καὶ ποταμοὺς ἐνίοτε τοῦ γηγενοῦς ἐκείνου καὶ αὐτομάτου προχέουσι πυρός.

How far back we can trace the *topos* of Etna’s liquid fires is a moot point: conceivably, though not definitely, as far as Hesiod’s *Theogony*. The passage in question concerns, once more, the thunderbolted giant, this time named as Typhoeus. Zeus blasts him and hurls him to the ground (857–868):

> But when [Zeus] had overcome him by belaboring him with his blows,
> Typhoeus collapsed crippled, and the huge earth groaned.
> Flames shot from the thunderstruck lord where he was smitten down,
> in the dark mountain glens [*for text, see below*].
> The huge earth burned mightily
> with unbelievable heat, and melted (ἐτήκετο) like tin
> that is heated by the skill of craftsmen in crucibles with bellow-holes,
> or as iron, which is the strongest substance,
> when it is overpowered by burning fire in mountain glens,
> melts (τήκεται) in the divine ground by Hephaestus’ craft: even so the
> earth melted (τήκετο) in the glare of the conflagration.
> And vexed at heart Zeus threw Typhoeus into broad Tartarus.
>
> tr. WEST, adapted
>
> αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δή μιν δάμασε πληγῇσιν ἱμάσσας,
> ἤριπε γυιωθείς, στονάχιζε δὲ γαῖα πελώρη·
> φλὸξ δὲ κεραυνωθέντος ἀπέσσυτο τοῖο ἄνακτος
> οὔρεος ἐν βήσσῃσιν †ἀϊδνῆς παιπαλοέσσῃς,
> πληγέντος, πολλὴ δὲ πελώρη καίετο γαῖα
> αὐτμῇ θεσπεσίῃ, καὶ ἐτήκετο κασσίτερος ὣς
> τέχνῃ ὕπ’ αἰζηῶν ἐν ἐυτρήτοις χοάνοισι
> θαλφθείς, ἠὲ σίδηρος, ὅ περ κρατερώτατός ἐστιν,
> οὔρεος ἐν βήσσῃσι δαμαζόμενος πυρὶ κηλέῳ
> τήκεται ἐν χθονὶ δίῃ ὑφ’ Ἡφαίστου παλάμῃσιν·
> ὣς ἄρα τήκετο γαῖα σέλαι πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο.
> ῥῖψε δέ μιν θυμῷ ἀκαχὼν ἐς Τάρταρον εὐρύν.

The crux here is the word underlined in 860. Among possible readings are ἀϊδνῇς (*aïdnêis*), 'dark', a dative plural adjective agreeing with 'glens', or Ἀϊδνῆς (*Aïdnês*), which would be the name, in the genitive singular, of an otherwise unknown location 'Aidna'. The Byzantine scholar John Tzetzes already interpreted the word as designating Mount Etna, in which case the reading would have to be emended to Ἀΐτνης (*Aïtnês*), scanned as a trisyllable, which is what the meter requires at this point; that reading would generate the translation 'in the rugged mountain glens of Aitna'. In his commentary on the poem Martin West rejects this latter reading: he cites the uniqueness of scanning Ἀΐτνης as a trisyllable, and suggests also that Typhoeus seems to be envisaged as lying upon the earth rather than vomiting up fire from below it, which would imply that Hesiod was not envisaging a volcano at all, but rather a place of scorched but flat earth.[10] Be all that as it may, Hesiod's threefold repetition of the idea of melting—*etêketo, têketai, têketo*—at the very least anticipates and prefigures the imagery of liquid Etnaean fire, which we find in so many later texts.

### 2.2 *Science (or: 'Science')*

In the thought world which we are investigating, there were no doctrinally prescribed constraints on beliefs about Etna, liquid fire, or anything else central to our enquiries. It is no surprise, then, that there were those who openly rejected, or at least claimed to be openly rejecting, the mythical, fire-vomiting-monster approach. Nor is it a surprise—given his general views about the lack of intervention by the gods in natural processes—that Lucretius was one of the dissenters.[11] For Lucretius, an eruption is explained in terms which geologists today would recognize as, even if not true, yet at least conceived in a recognizably scientific mode. The Lucretian Etna is hollow, being supported on caverns filled with 'wind' and 'air' (*ventus et aer*) (Lucr. 6.686–689):

> When this wind has grown very hot, and has heated all the surrounding
> rocks in its fury (*furens*) where it touches, and also the earth, and has struck from these
> hot fire with rapid flames,
> it rises and hurls itself upwards straight through the mountain's throat (*faucibus*).

10 West 1966 ad loc.

11 See Guittard 2004.

> hic ubi percaluit calefecitque omnia circum
> saxa furens, qua contingit, terramque, et ab ollis
> excussit calidum flammis velocibus ignem,
> tollit se ac rectis ita faucibus eicit alte.

On this view, a volcanic eruption is a physical process, not the result of a conflict between angry gods, because, according to sound Epicurean principles, the gods are not like that. There *are* gods, but they are never angry (Lucr. 1.44–49, repeated at 2.646–651). Yet we must remember *furens* and *faucibus*, 'in fury', and 'through the throat'. Elsewhere in Lucretius we find another reference to *furia* on Etna; not the *furia* of the gods, but that of the mountain: 'Etna's outrush seethes in fury from the fires beneath' (*ex imis vero furit ignibus impetus Aetnae*) (2.593). This in turn echoes a passage (1.722–724) in which 'Etna's murmurings threaten that the angry flames (*flammarum … iras*) are gathering again, that once again its violence may vomit fires bursting from its throat (*faucibus*)'. Lucretius' language embodies both the emotions (*furens, furit, iras*) and the anthropomorphic-anatomical metaphoricity (*faucibus*) which are equally at home in the myth-tellers' narrative of an angry, anguished, fire-vomiting monster.[12]

In spite of that overlap between mythical and scientific causation, Lucretius was of course distancing himself from the myth-tellers in some respects; nor was he alone in doing so. In his 79th letter, Seneca urges his addressee Lucilius to send him, in a poem, some scientifically based observations about Etna (concerning, for instance, the exact distance of the snow-line from the crater), and encourages him to do so, not, as some poets have already done (Vergil, Ovid, Cornelius Severus), by merely addressing the topic tangentially, but by devoting a whole poem to it.[13] Such a poem exists: the so-called pseudo-Vergilian *Aetna*. Weighing in at around 644 hexameters (the exact count varies depending on which verses are regarded as authentic), it brings with it a host of interpretative problems, which stem in part from uncertainty over date and authorship, in part from the corrupt state of the text.[14]

From the outset the poem proclaims its intention to debunk the myth-tellers' fictions and to replace them with something altogether more robust.

12 References to Etna's *furor* in Latin myth-tellers: Leroux 2004, 67. On 'wind' as a key aspect of the explanation of violent geological upheaval, compare Aristotle on earthquakes (*Mete*. 2.7–8), with Sigurdsson 1999, 36–38.

13 On the views of Seneca himself about volcanic phenomena, see Dupraz 2004.

14 See, e.g., Wolff 2004; Welsh 2014.

First fiction: Etna is home to a god, and it is Vulcan's fire, generated by his forge, which gushes out of its *faucibus* (29–32). Wrong, says the poet: not for the Epicurean-Lucretian reason that the gods are remote and free from care, but because the gods are regal and would not demean themselves to an artisan's work (35). Second fiction: Etna's fires signal the place where the Cyclopes forge thunderbolts. Wrong, says the poet: this is just a 'discreditable and baseless tale' (*turpe … sine pignore carmen*) (40). Third fiction: Jupiter slammed Etna down on top of Enceladus, and its fires are what the rebellious giant breathes from his *faucibus* (71–73). Wrong, says the poet: this too is just a product of erroneous rumour (74). The truth is that (209–212):

> It is the winds (*venti*) which stir up all this turmoil …
> For this reason the rushing of fire from the mountain causes no surprise.

> … omnes
> exagitant venti turbas …
> hac causa exspectata ruunt incendia montis.

And what feeds the conflagration? The answer is again geological: the 'lava-stone'. Constantly renewed, it pours out heat and flame again and again, until its strength is burnt out and it becomes pumice (400–425).

And yet, in spite of his self-proclaimed anti-myth stance, and no less clearly than Lucretius, the *Aetna* poet expresses himself in ways thoroughly indebted to the mythological tradition. Less than thirty lines after his contemptuous admonition against gazing 'in silent amazement on the sacred roaring and furious (*furentes*) rages of the Etnaean mountain' (277–278), he talks of a 'furious' (*furens*) wind which causes Etna to rumble (300–301). Less than another thirty lines later we hear that the volcanic wind 'leaps out and furiously (*furens*) vomits over the whole of Etna' (329). The scientific/non-scientific boundary suddenly seems remarkably porous. Significantly, too, the poet uses the phrase 'lying fable' (*fabula mendax*) not to ridicule myth-tellers who talk of Vulcan's forge, but to castigate advocates of a rival, scientifically-conceived theory about the nature of the lava-stone (512). Finally, with yet another switch in tone and approach, the poem ends on a note of high religious ethics. When Amphinomus and his brother rescued their parents from death-by-lava by carrying them to safety, the lava miraculously flowed on either side of them, because the flames 'blushed to touch those pious youths' (635)—a notably value-laden observation by this self-proclaimed man of science. As we look on from our observers', etic point of view, the *Aetna* poet may betray a lack of intellectual consistency; but his proto-geological views are still of unusual

interest, not in spite of, but precisely because of the way they are entwined with the perspectives of mythology and morality.

## 2.3 *History/Geography*

We turn now to another area, or pair of interrelated areas, of the traditions about Etna, namely the historical/geographical. Thucydides' contribution is short and spare. In the course of his account of events in the year 425 BCE he reports that (3.116):

> At the very beginning of this next spring, the stream of fire (ὁ ῥύαξ τοῦ πυρός) burst out of Mount Etna, as it had on former occasions. It devastated part of the territory of the Catanaeans, who dwell at the foot of Etna, which is the highest mountain in Sicily. This eruption took place, it is said, fifty years after the last preceding one. In total it has erupted three times since Sicily was inhabited by the Hellenes.
>
> ἐρρύη δὲ περὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἔαρ τοῦτο ὁ ῥύαξ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐκ τῆς Αἴτνης, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον, καὶ γῆν τινὰ ἔφθειρε τῶν Καταναίων, οἳ ὑπὸ τῇ Αἴτνῃ τῷ ὄρει οἰκοῦσιν, ὅπερ μέγιστόν ἐστιν ὄρος ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ. λέγεται δὲ πεντηκοστῷ ἔτει ῥυῆναι τοῦτο μετὰ τὸ πρότερον ῥεῦμα, τὸ δὲ ξύμπαν τρὶς γεγενῆσθαι τὸ ῥεῦμα ἀφ' οὗ Σικελία ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων οἰκεῖται.

Thucydides' word for the lava-stream, ῥύαξ (*rhuax*), seems to be a technical term; several other authors use it in the identical sense.[15] Thucydides is typically matter-of-fact and un-Vergilian in his reference to Etna; the eruption only gets a mention because of its effect on one of Sicily's constituent populations. And perhaps it is true that Etna's historical importance, narrowly conceived, is indeed limited. In terms of geography, however, in the context of Sicily as a whole, its importance is very great. Which brings us to Strabo.

Strabo has various things to say about Etna—so various that it is too restrictive to regard him as embodying a merely 'geographical' approach. A first comment concerns the settlement founded by Hieron. Strabo gives us a very different take on the foundation from the Pindaric eulogy (6.2.3):

> Catana lost its original inhabitants when Hieron, tyrant of Syracuse, settled a different set of colonists there and called it Aetna instead of Catana

15 See LSJ s.v.; Gilbert 1907, 323 n. 1; Kingsley 1995, 72 n. 6.

… But after the death of Hieron the Catanaeans returned, threw out the inhabitants, and demolished the tomb of the tyrant.

ἀπέβαλε δὲ τοὺς οἰκήτορας τοὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἡ Κατάνη, κατοικίσαντος ἑτέρους Ἱέρωνος τοῦ Συρακουσσίων τυράννου καὶ προσαγορεύσαντος αὐτὴν Αἴτνην ἀντὶ Κατάνης … μετὰ δὲ τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦ Ἱέρωνος κατελθόντες οἱ Καταναῖοι τούς τε ἐνοίκους ἐξέβαλον καὶ τὸν τάφον ἀνέσκαψαν τοῦ τυράννου.

Next Strabo picks up the story of the filial piety of Amphinomus and his brother.[16] Strabo does not say that the lava-stream parted miraculously, though; he just tells us that the boys saved their father. After the historical observation about Hieron's settlement, and the morally-uplifting lava-stream anecdote, Strabo shifts gear again into geological/botanical mode, providing a detailed account of why it is that volcanic ash-dust promotes the fertility of vines. His source here is Posidonius, reputedly an expert not only on earthquakes but also on volcanoes.[17]

Strabo now turns to the subject of reports by people who have climbed to the summit and looked into the crater and its surrounds. These reports cast doubt on perhaps the most famous story told about Etna (6.2.8):

[Those who had recently made the ascent] believed, from such a view as they had, that many stories currently told are mythical (μυθεύεσθαι), particularly those which some people tell about Empedocles, that he leapt down into the crater and left behind, as a trace of what he had experienced, one of the bronze sandals which he wore; for it was found, they say, a short distance outside the rim of the crater, as though thrown up by the force of the fire. Indeed, according to my informants, the place is neither to be approached nor seen; and nothing could be thrown down into it either, because of the contrary blasts of the winds rising from the depths, and also because of the heat, which, it is reasonable to suppose, meets one long before one comes near the mouth of the crater; but even if something should be thrown down into it, it would be destroyed before it could be thrown up in anything like the shape it had when first received; and although it is not unreasonable to assume that at times the blasts and the fire die down when the fuel fails, yet surely this remission would not be such that a man could approach the crater against so great a force.

16 Named here as Anapias; different versions of the anecdote vary the name slightly.

17 See Gilbert 1907, 322.

> νομίζειν δ᾽ ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης ὄψεως πολλὰ μυθεύεσθαι, καὶ μάλιστα οἷά φασί τινες περὶ Ἐμπεδοκλέους, ὅτι καθάλοιτο εἰς τὸν κρατῆρα καὶ καταλίποι τοῦ πάθους ἴχνος τῶν ἐμβάδων τὴν ἑτέραν, ἃς ἐφόρει χαλκᾶς· εὑρεθῆναι γὰρ ἔξω μικρὸν ἄπωθεν τοῦ χείλους τοῦ κρατῆρος, ὡς ἀνερριμμένην ὑπὸ τῆς βίας τοῦ πυρός· οὔτε γὰρ προσιτὸν εἶναι τὸν τόπον οὔθ᾽ ὁρατόν, εἰκάζειν τε μηδὲ καταρριφῆναί τι δύνασθαι ἐκεῖσε ὑπὸ τῆς ἀντιπνοίας τῶν ἐκ βάθους ἀνέμων καὶ τῆς θερμότητος, ἣν προαπαντᾶν εὔλογον πόρρωθεν πρὶν ἢ τῷ στομίῳ τοῦ κρατῆρος προσπελάσαι· εἰ δὲ καταρριφείη, φθάνοι ἂν διαφθαρὲν πρὶν ἀναρριφῆναι πάλιν, ὁποῖον παρελήφθη πρότερον. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐκλείπειν ποτὲ τὰ πνεύματα καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἐπιλειπούσης τῆς ὕλης, οὐκ ἄλογον, οὐ μὴν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτόν γε, ὥστ᾽ ἀντὶ τῆς τοσαύτης βίας ἐφικτὸν ἀνθρώπῳ γενέσθαι τὸν πλησιασμόν.

As Peter Kingsley points out in his book (to which I shall return) on Empedocles, some readers of Strabo fail to read on, which allows them to posit an overly-simplistic divide between mythical and scientific approaches.[18] But if you *do* read on, you soon come to what Strabo has to say about the volcanic island of Thermessa, between Sicily and Lipara (6.2.10). Strabo notes the relationship between volcanic activity and winds (we recall Lucretius and the *Aetna* poet). This leads Strabo, relying this time on Polybius, to hark back to the question of craters; and the picture he gives of Etna in 6.2.10 is a good deal more complex than that in 6.2.8:

> Polybius says that one of the three craters has partially collapsed, whereas the others remain intact; and the largest has a rim five stadia in circuit, but it gradually contracts to a diameter of fifty feet; and the height of this crater above sea level is a stade, so that the crater is visible on windless days. But if all this is to be believed, perhaps one should also not disbelieve (οὐκ ἀπιστητέον ἴσως) the mythical story (τοῖς … μυθολογηθεῖσιν) about Empedocles.

> Πολύβιος δὲ τῶν τριῶν κρατήρων τὸν μὲν κατερρυηκέναι φησὶν ἐκ μέρους, τοὺς δὲ συμμένειν, τὸν δὲ μέγιστον τὸ χεῖλος ἔχειν περιφερὲς ὂν πέντε σταδίων, κατ᾽ ὀλίγον δὲ συνάγεσθαι εἰς πεντήκοντα ποδῶν διάμετρον· καθ᾽ οὗ βάθος εἶναι τὸ μέχρι θαλάττης σταδιαῖον, ὥστε καθορᾶν ταῖς νηνεμίαις. εἰ δὲ ταῦτ᾽ἐστὶ πιστά, οὐκ ἀπιστητέον ἴσως οὐδὲ τοῖς περὶ Ἐμπεδοκλέους μυθολογηθεῖσιν.

18 Kingsley 1995, 279.

What is the force of: 'perhaps one should also not disbelieve'? Rather than being ironical, it sounds more like a recognition of the inevitable uncertainty surrounding a location which is constantly changing, physically and perhaps also conceptually.

## 2.4 *Plurality*

Virtually every passage we have examined (except the one from Thucydides) can be said to involve more than one type of discourse. This sometimes applies in a negative sense, when an author working from one perspective explicitly rejects another, or at least ostensibly differentiates himself from it, as when Lucretius and the *Aetna* poet discount certain mythological explanations, or when Strabo distances himself, at least to some degree, from the 'mythical' story about Empedocles. But discursive plurality may be evident in a more positive sense too, as already in Pindar, whose ode weaves a seamless tapestry of myth, politics and history. Our final texts once more embrace more than one type of discourse; or maybe it is preferable to say they demonstrate that distinguishing between such types may sometimes be misleading. These texts are drawn from Diodorus Siculus' account of the myths of Sicily; from Plato's *Phaedo*; and from the philosopher/poet/magician Empedocles, without whom no account of Etna would be complete, since it was within that volcano that he was said to have ended his remarkable career.

In his capacity as 'universal' historian, Diodorus takes an extensive look at the mythical period before exclusively human history comes on the scene. About Etna his observations are sometimes straightforwardly historical in the manner of Thucydides, as when he notes that the Sicani originally lived everywhere in Sicily, but eventually abandoned the eastern parts and moved westwards because of Etna's eruptions (5.6.3). But sometimes he tackles myth and religion head-on. The prime example is a passage about the myth—μυθολογοῦσι (*muthologousi*), 'they tell the myth', is how he introduces the matter (5.4.3)—that when Demeter was unable to locate her abducted daughter Persephone she kindled torches in the craters of Etna—those torches which were so prominent in Eleusinian iconography and ritual—and later bestowed the gift of wheat on those who welcomed her hospitably.[19] Immediately afterwards (5.5.1) Diodorus recalls a passage from the tragic poet Carcinus—himself a Sicilian—to the effect that Sicily, amid the rocks of Etna and its unapproachable streams

19 For Demeter/Ceres kindling torches in Etna, see also Statius, *Theb.* 12.270–275, and Claudian, *Rapt. Pros.* 3.392–403; cf. Smolenaars 2005, 313–314. For another mythological connection between Etna and Demeter, see Oppian, *Hal.* 3.488–489: '… when [Hades] seized the maiden Persephone from the crag of Etna …', cf. Kingsley 1995, 71 n. 1.

of fire, lamented along with Demeter, and the people perished through lack of grain. In other words, both negatively and positively Etna was linked at the mythical/religious level with agricultural fertility. In this case—unlike so many others, in which myth may more exactly be said to *refract* the everyday world by exaggeration and distortion—we really can talk of myth *reflecting* geological/botanical reality: lava-flows are indeed ruthlessly destructive, but also, eventually, bring fertility to the soil.[20]

The passage from Plato's *Phaedo* is an extraordinary combination of geology with eschatology, as the posthumous fate of the soul is linked with hypothetical subterranean topography, especially that below ground in Sicily (111c–111e):

> And round about the whole earth, in the hollows of it, are many regions, some deeper and wider than that in which we live, some deeper but with a narrower opening than ours, and some also less in depth and wider. Now all these are connected with one another by many subterranean channels, some larger and some smaller, which are bored in all of them, and there are passages through which much water flows from one to another as into mixing bowls (κρατῆρας); and there are everlasting rivers of huge size under the earth, flowing with hot and cold water; and there is much fire, and great rivers of fire (πυρὸς … ποταμούς), and many streams of mud, some thinner and some thicker, like the rivers of mud that flow before the lava (ῥύαξ) in Sicily, and the lava itself.

> … τόπους δ᾽ ἐν αὐτῇ εἶναι κατὰ τὰ ἔγκοιλα αὐτῆς κύκλῳ περὶ ὅλην πολλούς, τοὺς μὲν βαθυτέρους καὶ ἀναπεπταμένους μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν ᾧ ἡμεῖς οἰκοῦμεν, τοὺς δὲ βαθυτέρους ὄντας τὸ χάσμα αὐτοὺς ἔλαττον ἔχειν τοῦ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν τόπου, ἔστι δ᾽ οὓς καὶ βραχυτέρους τῷ βάθει τοῦ ἐνθάδε εἶναι καὶ πλατυτέρους. τούτους δὲ πάντας ὑπὸ γῆν εἰς ἀλλήλους συντετρῆσθαί τε πολλαχῇ καὶ κατὰ στενότερα καὶ εὐρύτερα καὶ διεξόδους ἔχειν, ᾗ πολὺ μὲν ὕδωρ ῥεῖν ἐξ ἀλλήλων εἰς ἀλλήλους ὥσπερ εἰς κρατῆρας, καὶ ἀενάων ποταμῶν ἀμήχανα μεγέθη ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν καὶ θερμῶν ὑδάτων καὶ ψυχρῶν, πολὺ δὲ πῦρ καὶ πυρὸς μεγάλους ποταμούς, πολλοὺς δὲ ὑγροῦ πηλοῦ καὶ καθαρωτέρου καὶ βορβορωδεστέρου, ὥσπερ ἐν Σικελίᾳ οἱ πρὸ τοῦ ῥύακος πηλοῦ ῥέοντες ποταμοὶ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ῥύαξ.

These rivers, the Platonic Socrates continues, all flow into the chasm which Homer and other poets have called Tartarus. Amongst the subterranean rivers is Pyriphlegethon, of which the streams of lava which spout up at various places

20 On volcanoes in Diodorus, see Casevitz 2004.

on earth are offshoots. In all this elaborate rheology, we have several mixtures: not only fire and water, and above and below, but also myth, religion and geology.

Plato is by no means the only ancient philosopher in whose work it can be misleading to differentiate between myth, religion and geology; which brings us back to Empedocles, and to Peter Kingsley's book. Kingsley's narrower aim is to explain Empedocles' views about earth, air, fire and water. His broader aim is to explode the view which distinguishes Empedocles the philosopher from Empedocles the mystic. Kingsley's brusque dismissals of those who take a different view from himself may not be to everyone's taste, but the book's argumentation on the points which concern us in this chapter seems, to me at least, to be brilliant and very largely convincing.

Building on Richard Ganschinietz's Pauly-Wissowa article on 'Katabasis', which highlights the role of volcanoes as perceived entry-points to the Underworld,[21] and stressing both Plato's claim that volcanic streams of lava are offshoots of the infernal river Pyriphlegethon, and the repeated association between Hephaestus' forge and volcanic regions in and near Sicily, Kingsley argues for a dual perception of fire in the Greco-Roman *imaginaire*: the central, destructive, subterranean fire of Hades, and the creative fire of Hephaestus above it.[22] He sees Etna as a mediator, between Tartarus/Hades, on the one hand, and Olympus, to which Etna's fires shoot heavenward, on the other. As for those links, in Plato and elsewhere, between fire and water in Sicilian subterranean topography, Kingsley uses them to resolve the long-standing dilemma about the divine equivalents posited by Empedocles for his four elements. By extraordinarily virtuoso argumentation, Kingsley identifies Zeus with air and Hera with earth. More relevant to us here are his two other identifications: Aidoneus with fire and Nestis with water—the divinities in question being none other than, respectively, Hades and Persephone. Most relevant of all is the identification between Hades and fire, for which Empedocles' line 'There are many fires burning beneath the surface of the earth' (fr. B52) is crucial; Proclus, who quotes it, glosses it with the observation καὶ γὰρ ὑπὸ γῆς ῥύακές εἰσι πυρός, 'there are lava-streams of fire beneath the earth' (*In Ti.* 2.8.26). As for the Aidoneus/Nestis linkage, Kingsley reaches this persuasive conclusion: '… in these streams of water and fire we have all the basic materials for a magnificent allegory: the immense masses of fire and water below the earth's surface

21 Ganschinietz 1919.

22 Kingsley 1995, 78: 'In Sicily, Hades and Hephaestus are two sides of one and the same coin: two aspects of the volcanic fire just inside the earth'.

explained as the marriage of the two great divinities of the underworld.'[23] Just as fire and water coalesce in the quintessential Etnaean imagery, so too do religion, philosophy and geology.

## 3 Generalizations and Conclusions

Volcanoes are good to think with, especially in matters relating to unpredictability, chaos, and the breaking in of the extraordinary upon the ordinary. Not surprisingly, many traditions worldwide think about those matters in volcanic terms.[24] Sixteenth-century texts establish Icelandic volcanoes as places of Purgatory and as dwellings of ghosts.[25] By a different rhetorical move, interpretations of New World volcanoes as 'mouths of Hell' are attributed to credulous natives in the writings of some of the Spanish conquistadors, such as Francisco López de Gómara in his *Historia de la conquista de México* (ch. 62): 'Those simple people think that it is a mouth of Hell, to which wicked or tyrannical rulers go after death, to purge their sins, and from there to rest'.[26] In Papua New Guinea, Japan, and Hawaii, the prime movers are spirits named, respectively, Kaia, Oni, and the fire goddess Pele.[27]

But what of the Greco-Roman world? How far does the picture of Etna which I have just set out fit into the general pattern of representations of mountains in the Greco-Roman *imaginaire*, and how far does it constitute an exception? That general pattern, it will be recalled, consists (in my view) of the following main features: mountains are outside; they are wild; they are before; they are sites for reversal and metamorphosis. Are those features similarly characteristic of Mount Etna?

Was Etna felt to be 'outside'? Clearly in one sense it was seen as lying beyond civilized humanity: in order to reach it, people had to leave the security of human communities, and typically approached the never-inactive volcano at risk of their lives. And yet Etna's dynamic, fluid quality—not just fire, but

23 Kingsley 1995, 356–357.

24 In the words of Dominique Bertrand in a study of perceptions of volcanoes in the Renaissance (2001, 7): 'L'analyse des figurations du volcan comporte ainsi des enjeux anthropologiques majeurs, éclairant le travail de sémiotisation par lequel l'homme construit sa relation à l'espace géographique et naturel mais aussi au monde social: travail dans lequel le réel et l'imaginaire sont intimement liés'.

25 See Mund-Dopchie 2001.

26 My translation; see Gomez-Géraud 2001, 172 n. 24.

27 See Sigurdsson 1999, 17–20.

*liquid* fire—meant that its boundaries were not fixed: it frequently encroached upon human communities in the most literal way, as it did so bringing first destruction and subsequently fertility.[28] An exception, however—in this as in so much else—would seem to be Thucydides, whose brief account, rather than emphasizing Etna's fluidity, presents the three previous eruptions which he knows of as discrete points separated in time; though even he uses the 'fluid' term *rhuax* for the lava-flow itself.[29]

Was Etna felt to be 'wild'? For the most part, emphatically yes. Volcanoes are no ordinary mountains: they embody the additional characteristics of catastrophic unpredictability and fiery chaos. We may recall all those references to *furens, furia* and *ira*; and in the pseudo-Vergilian *Aetna* emphasis is placed on the need fearfully to get far away from the volcano (*pavidum fugere*, 465; *procul … procul …*, 506). And yet that wildness was subject to repeated attempts, both divine and human, to control it: Zeus used Etna to hold down Typhos; Hephaestus used volcanic fire to power his forge; Hieron founded a settlement somewhere nearby. Chaos but also order: the unceasing dialogue between the two is at the heart of what Etna meant.

Was Etna thought of as 'before'? That is not evidently the case. The only aspect which seems to fit the idea of priority is the association between the volcano and the primordial Cyclopes, belligerents in the primeval battles between the Olympians and their gigantic/monstrous opponents. But for the most part Etna's perpetual, fluid dynamism overrides any idea of anteriority—any idea of being before rather than now—in favor of a sense of being 'in process'.

Lastly: was Etna perceived as a place of reversal and metamorphosis? Yes, though it might be even better to characterize the volcano's imaginative role as that of the site of the blending of opposites. The very word 'crater' (used in both Greek and Latin as well as English to designate the 'mouth' of a volcano)[30] has as its root meaning the idea of an object or location where things are mixed: above all, fire and liquid; fire *as* liquid. But Etna was the site of other blendings too. On Etna, the sky meets Tartarus, devastation becomes fertility, creative fire and destructive fire interfuse.

Overall, then, Etna seems to me in part to conform to the wider pattern of representations of Greco-Roman mountains, but in part to constitute an

28 On the dynamic, shifting quality of the volcano's topography, see Darley 2011, 172–173; 180–181. Even the most detailed map, like that of the renowned nineteenth-century vulcanologist Henry Johnston-Lavis, could be rendered obsolete by a new eruption.

29 I am indebted to John Henderson for emphasizing to me the discreteness implied in the Thucydides passage.

30 See LSJ s.v. κρατήρ, II.2; *OLD* s.v. *crater*, 3.

exception. Wild and metamorphic, yes. Outside? Yes, up to a point, though the encroachment which goes along with its intermittently but insistently creeping flow of lava calls the volcano's spatial limits—and hence the location of the boundary between wildness and civilization—permanently into question. Before? Not really so: rather, we need to register the sense of 'fluid actuality', a quality which belongs to a volcano which, although its geological profile is of course characterized by periods of greater and lesser activity, is nevertheless quite distinct from, say, Vesuvius, or Santorini, or Tambora,[31] volcanoes which, though usually inactive, are very occasionally explosive on a scale which defies human imagination.

I add two conclusions, which are related to one another.

The first concerns causation. Among the texts we have reviewed, at one end of the spectrum are the Pindaric and Aeschylean narratives, which highlight mythological explanations for volcanic phenomena. *Apparently* at the opposite end of the spectrum is the poet of *Aetna*, who, in the spirit of Lucretius and Strabo, privileges explanation in terms of volcanic winds, and purports to regard all other explanations as groundless mystification. Yet the matter is not so simple: both ends of the spectrum are linked by a common cluster of images: throats and fury and vomiting. Nor should we forget that Strabo did not set his face unambiguously against *mutheuesthai*, 'the telling of myths'.

Secondly, I have been examining several different types of discourse: mythological, religious, historical, geographical, geological, botanical, political, philosophical. As we have seen, sometimes these types overlap, sometimes they compete; sometimes they overlap and compete simultaneously. It seems that, on occasions, to separate Greco-Roman thought into discrete strands may have the effect of introducing a clarity which is misleading or even spurious, especially when what is at stake is a phenomenon whose very essence is the blending of opposites.

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31 Cf. Wood 2014.

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CHAPTER 3

# Strabo's Mountains

*Jason König*

## 1 Introduction: Landscape Narratives

The last few decades have seen an enormous volume of work in modern ecocriticism and cultural geography on the significance of mountains in modern European literature and culture. There is a tendency to stress the distinctiveness of modern engagement with mountains, with reference among other things to the development of mountaineering as a leisure practice, and to the increasing interest in aesthetic appreciation of mountain landscapes, linked with new notions of the picturesque and the sublime, from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries onwards. Much of that work views ancient mountain representations as simplistic and stereotyped by comparison with their modern equivalents. Marjorie Hope Nicolson's 1959 book *Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory* is still an influential account along those lines. For her, classical and medieval landscapes rarely go beyond clichéd, allegorical, poetic or rhetorical depictions.[1] The implication is that they cannot come close to the sophistication of the modern texts she is interested in.

Not surprisingly, perhaps, ancient engagement with mountains is taken more seriously within the discipline of Classics. Fernand Braudel viewed the mountainous character of the Mediterranean as one of the formative facts of that region's history.[2] More recently Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell have given new attention to the enormous variety of the Mediterranean landscape, criticizing Braudel's tendency to generalize about the role of mountains in military and economic history and to overstate the backward and isolated character of mountain populations.[3] There have been important detailed stud-

1 Nicolson 1959, 34–71; cf. MacFarlane 2003, esp. 137–167. For exceptions, see Schama 1995 (esp. 383–513 on mountains), who is more willing than most to acknowledge the sophistication of pre-modern landscape sensibility; also Ireton and Schaumann 2012, which includes a number of attempts to resist the standard dismissal of pre-modern thinking about landscape, esp. Hooley 2012 for a brief survey of classical mountain depiction.

2 Braudel 1972, esp. 25–53.

3 Horden and Purcell 2000, esp. 80–87.

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ies of individual mountain regions: examples (among many others) include James Roy's work on Arcadia[4] and Jeremy McInerney's on Phocis.[5]

Even within Classics, however, the sophistication of ancient literary representations of mountain landscape has been treated for the most part only in very cursory terms. The obvious exception is the work of Richard Buxton, who has shown how Greek mythical narratives—and especially Greek tragedy—reflect assumptions about mountains as places outside civilization within the Greek imagination.[6] However, even he spends relatively little time discussing the way in which mountain depictions are woven through particular texts.[7] And the fact that he confines his discussion more or less exclusively to mythical narrative leaves great swathes of classical literature—especially later Greek and Latin prose literature—still open for analysis.

My argument in what follows is that many ancient texts have what one might call 'landscape narratives' running through them which are much more complex and distinctive than we usually acknowledge. My focus is on geographical and historiographical writing,[8] although the general point applies equally to many other genres.[9] When we read individual passages in isolation that patterning is often hard to see. But if instead we read from end to end, we can often see that successive moments of landscape depiction have a very complex intratextual relation with each other, and that they tell between them a developing story as each text goes on. In some cases these successive images complement each other, building cumulatively towards a coherent vision. In others we find provocative inconsistencies and contradictions which frustrate any simplistic generalizations about the role of mountains in ancient culture.

Strabo, whose *Geography* was written in the first decades of the first century CE, is a classic example. His work mentions mountains with remarkable frequency. The word ὄρος ('mountain') and other related forms recur over and over again. To take just one example, he is single-handedly responsible for more than 10% of occurrences of the word ὀρεινός in surviving ancient Greek lit-

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4 Roy 2009.

5 McInerney 1999.

6 Buxton 2013, 9–31 (and earlier versions in Buxton 1992 and Buxton 1994, 81–96).

7 However, see Buxton 2013, 26–30 for rich analyses of Euripides' *Bacchae* and Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus*.

8 Cf. Rood 2014 for Xenophon's *Anabasis*, discussing among other things (2014, 89): 'a sequence of descriptions where the character "Xenophon" is seen displaying a superior vision of the military possibilities of mountainous terrain …'

9 E.g., see König 2013 for ancient prose fiction, with special reference to the representation of mountains in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*; also de Jong 2012 for a range of genres and authors.

erature (meaning 'mountainous' or 'of the mountains', and used especially to describe mountain peoples): it is used 129 times in the surviving books of the *Geography*, out of a total of just 1141 in surviving Greek literature. Those levels of frequency are surpassed to my knowledge only in the more heavily mathematical work of Claudius Ptolemy, who focuses much more exclusively than Strabo on the exercises of mapping and measuring for which mountains were a crucial tool in ancient geography (as we shall see further below).[10]

That is perhaps not surprising, given that Strabo is a geographical writer with an interest in ethnography. More importantly, however, his successive mountain descriptions have a remarkable intratextual complexity. There has been a striking increase in attention to Strabo over the last few decades,[11] but even so it is still surprisingly rare to find publications that analyze the experience of reading Strabo from end to end, in a way that maps the ebb and flow of recurring themes: the majority of Strabo scholars still seem to be interested primarily in generalizations about his procedures and his politics which draw very selectively on particularly relevant passages, or else in closely focused readings of particular regions. My claim here, by contrast, is that we can appreciate Strabo's project in full only if we give attention to the text as a whole and to the reading experience it offers.

To be more specific, I aim to show in what follows that there are two distinct strands of mountain depiction in Strabo's work: the first one links mountains with wild, uncivilized peoples; the second stresses the domestication of mountains. That contrast is part of an overarching division between civilized and uncivilized territory within Strabo's work.[12] In the first category, for example

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10 Frequency statistics for the use of ὀρεινός (in all its different forms) are as follows (all figures from *TLG*): Strabo, 4.3 per 10,000 words; Ptolemy, 7.2; Pausanias, 0.6; Polybius 0.4; Herodotus, 0.2. Figures for ὄρος (nominative/accusative singular only) are as follows: Strabo, 6.8 per 10,000 words; Ptolemy, 49.1; Pausanias, 5.0; Polybius 0.5; Herodotus, 2.1.

11 The major landmarks include Dueck 2000; Dueck, Lindsay, and Pothecary 2005.

12 That contrast has been recognized before, but has not to my knowledge been discussed in relation to Strabo's interest in the theme of human alteration of the physical landscape. The best discussions rightly draw attention to the complexity of Strabo's categorizations: e.g., see Almagor 2005 on the way in which Strabo tends to define barbarian identity in opposition to civilization, although also stressing the fact that his usage is far from uniform; Van der Vliet 2003 on the way in which the civilized-uncivilized dichotomy relates (never entirely straightforwardly) to the other dichotomies Strabo uses, e.g., between Greek and barbarian or between Greek and Roman (and see esp. 255–256 on the way in which Strabo maps the civilized-uncivilized distinction on to a distinction between mountain-dwellers and plains dwellers); Clarke 1999, 210–244, discussing among other things the conflict between a Rome-based and an Asia-Minor-based focalization in

in Spain or the Alps, he is interested in the standard ethnographic association between mountains and lack of civilization; he is also interested in the way in which mountains can be brought under political and military control. By contrast in the second kind of landscape, which is concentrated especially in Italy and mainland Greece and to some extent Asia Minor, we see a very different use of mountains: here mountains are characteristically associated with cities, and often enclosed within city walls; they are also associated with economic advantage and with local religious traditions. In that sense the state of a territory's mountains is one of the measures Strabo uses to define its position on the spectrum from savage to civilized. It is important to stress, however, that that process of categorization is not always straightforward, especially when one is immersed in the experience of traveling through Strabo's text: as we shall see, there are also passages that complicate or even undermine that basic civilized-uncivilized dichotomy.

## 2 Mountains in the Geographical Tradition

Some aspects of Strabo's mountain depiction are very much in line with what we find in other geographical and historiographical authors. That is most obvious for the ethnographic association between rough mountains and uncivilized peoples, which dates back at least to Herodotus.[13] *Histories* 4.23–25 is a particularly extravagant example:

> When one has passed through much of this rough country, there live in the foothills of some high mountains a people who are said to be bald from birth, both men and women alike, and snub-nosed with big chins, and who are said to speak their own language, wearing Scythian

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Strabo's work, which complicates any simplistic view of Rome as protector of civilization (see further in section 5, 'Pontus', below); Jacob 1991, esp. 159–166; Thollard 1987. One particularly important passage is Strabo 13.1.25, where he refers to Plato's description, in *Leg.* 3.677–678, of the three stages of civilization after the floods, the first in the mountains, portrayed as simple and wild, including the Cyclopes in their summit caves, the second in the foothills, as humans gained the courage to descend further, and the third in the plains.

13 However, see also Clarke 1999, 295 for the point that the Herodotean tradition also includes an alternative model, which associates hard, mountainous lands with imperial dominance and soft lands with an inability to rule (esp. in the very closing paragraph of the *Histories*, 9.122), and which Strabo resists in taking Rome's geographical position as one of the factors in her success.

> clothes, but living from the produce of trees … Up to this point a lot is known, but for the territory beyond them, no-one is able to say for sure, for it is cut off by high and inaccessible mountains, and no-one passes over them. These bald people say (but I do not believe them) that these mountains are inhabited by goat-footed men; and that after one has passed beyond them there are other people who sleep for six months of the year.[14]
>
> διεξελθόντι δὲ καὶ τῆς τρηχέης χῶρον πολλὸν οἰκέουσι ὑπωρείην ὀρέων ὑψηλῶν ἄνθρωποι λεγόμενοι εἶναι πάντες φαλακροὶ ἐκ γενετῆς γινόμενοι, καὶ ἔρσενες καὶ θήλεαι ὁμοίως, καὶ σιμοὶ καὶ γένεια ἔχοντες μεγάλα, φωνὴν δὲ ἰδίην ἱέντες, ἐσθῆτι δὲ χρεώμενοι Σκυθικῇ, ζώοντες δὲ ἀπὸ δενδρέων … μέχρι μὲν δὴ τούτων γινώσκεται, τὸ δὲ τῶν φαλακρῶν κατύπερθε οὐδεὶς ἀτρεκέως οἶδε φράσαι· ὄρεα γὰρ ὑψηλὰ ἀποτάμνει ἄβατα καὶ οὐδείς σφεα ὑπερβαίνει. οἱ δὲ φαλακροὶ οὗτοι λέγουσι, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες, οἰκέειν τὰ ὄρεα αἰγίποδας ἄνδρας, ὑπερβάντι δὲ τούτους ἀνθρώπους ἄλλους οἳ τὴν ἑξάμηνον καθεύδουσι.

Also typical is Strabo's use of mountains to divide the inhabited world and to outline the shape of particular regions.[15] Strabo's authorial perspective is often a cartographic one, focused on the shapes and sizes of particular regions. (That characteristic viewpoint is often contrasted with the resolutely road-level, traveler's vision of Pausanias—although Strabo sometimes uses that kind of perspective too, particularly when he describes views of the land as if from the sea, drawing on the ancient tradition of *periplous* texts which described sailing routes: mountains were crucial landmarks for travelers by sea as well as by land.)[16] Spain, he says (Str. 3.1.3):

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14 All translations are my own.

15 See Irby-Massie 2012 on Greek mapping traditions, with regular mention of mountains; Salway 2012 on mapping in the Roman empire, and 2012, 197 on the visual parallels, in the Peutinger map, for division of the inhabited world by a line running eastwards from the Pillars of Hercules along the Taurus mountains (cf. Strabo 2.1.1). One of the ways in which Strabo situates himself in relation to that tradition is in his criticisms of those who misuse it: e.g., see 1.2.10 for criticism of chroniclers of Alexander who relocate the Caucasus to India; or 7.3.6 for criticism of those who write about the Rhipaean mountains, which do not exist.

16 Examples from Strabo include (among many others) 2.5.32: 'if one turns to the west from Indike, keeping the mountains on one's right' (μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ἐπὶ τὰ ἑσπέρια νεύουσιν, ἐν δεξιᾷ δ' ἔχουσι τὰ ὄρη); 3.1.7, referring to Mt. Kalpe, 'which is high and steep, with the

resembles an ox-hide stretched along its length from west to east, having its forward parts in the east, and with its breadth running from north to south. Its length is six thousand stadia altogether, and its breadth is five thousand stadia at the widest point, although in some places it is much less than three thousand, especially near to the Pyrenees, which form its eastern boundary.[17]

ἔοικε … βύρσῃ τεταμένῃ κατὰ μῆκος μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑσπέρας ἐπὶ τὴν ἕω, τὰ πρόσθια ἐχούσῃ μέρη πρὸς τῇ ἕῳ, κατὰ πλάτος δ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἄρκτων πρὸς νότον. ἔχει δὲ σταδίων ἑξακισχιλίων ὁμοῦ τὸ μῆκος, πλάτος δὲ πεντακισχιλίων τὸ μέγιστον, ἔστι δ' ὅπου πολὺ ἔλαττον τῶν τρισχιλίων, καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς τῇ Πυρήνῃ τῇ ποιούσῃ τὴν ἑῴαν πλευράν.

In some of these passages Strabo names predecessors, especially the Hellenistic geographer Erastosthenes,[18] who seems to have used mountains repeatedly in his attempt to divide the earth's surface into different regions and to measure the distances between them.[19] Admittedly there are aspects of Strabo's treatment that stand out as rather unusual. By the normal standards of the earlier geographical tradition he seems to give mountains an unusually active role (along with seas and rivers) in the division of the earth's surface. In one passage he tells us (Str. 2.5.17):

It is the sea more than anything else that defines (γεωγραφεῖ) and shapes the land, forming gulfs and oceans and straits; also isthmuses, peninsulas, and promontories; and rivers and the mountains give their assistance in that.

πλεῖστον δ' ἡ θάλαττα γεωγραφεῖ καὶ σχηματίζει τὴν γῆν, κόλπους ἀπεργαζομένη καὶ πελάγη καὶ πορθμούς, ὁμοίως δὲ ἰσθμοὺς καὶ χερρονήσους καὶ ἄκρας· προσλαμβάνουσι δὲ ταύτῃ καὶ οἱ ποταμοὶ καὶ τὰ ὄρη.

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consequence that it appears from a distance to be an island' (τῷ δ' ὕψει μέγα καὶ ὄρθιον ὥστε πόρρωθεν νησοειδὲς φαίνεσθαι). And see Salway 2012, 193 (with further bibliography in n. 3) on the compatibility of 'hodological' (i.e., road-level) perspectives with map-based thinking.

17 For full translation of Strabo, see now Roller 2014, and for text, Lasserre's 1966–1981 Budé edition.

18 See also Lasserre 1966–1981 ad loc. on the way in which the passage just quoted, from 3.1.3, draws on both Eratosthenes and Posidonius.

19 See Str. 2.1.1 for a good example.

Here, remarkably (in a metaphor Strabo repeats elsewhere in the text too),[20] the land itself does the geographer's work for him. But the basic procedure here, which uses the mountain as a measurement tool, is far from unique.

Strabo is also typical in using the idea of viewing from a mountain-top as an image for this kind of cartographical gaze, with its implications of authorial control.[21] We find that same motif in Livy, for example.[22] For Strabo the most important moment is his account of his own ascent of Acrocorinth (Str. 8.6.21):

> The position of the city [i.e., Corinth], from the report of Hieronymus and Eudoxus and others, and as I have seen myself, when the city had been recently restored by the Romans, is more or less as follows. A high mountain, about three and a half stadia in vertical height, and about thirty stadia in ascent, ends in a sharp summit. It is called Acrocorinthus. The northern side is the steepest, and the city lies below it on level trapezium-shaped ground near to the foot of the hill … The summit has a small temple of Aphrodite, and below the summit is the spring Peirene, which has no overflow, but is always full of clear and drinkable water … From the summit Parnassus is visible to the north, and Helicon—high, snow-covered mountains—and the Crisaean gulf that lies beneath them, surrounded by Phocis and Boeotia and Megaris and the parts of Corinthia and Sicyonia which lie across the gulf opposite Phocis.
>
> τὴν δὲ τοποθεσίαν τῆς πόλεως, ἐξ ὧν Ἱερώνυμός τε εἴρηκε καὶ Εὔδοξος καὶ ἄλλοι, καὶ αὐτοὶ δὲ εἴδομεν, νεωστὶ ἀναληφθείσης ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, τοιάνδε εἶναι συμβαίνει. ὄρος ὑψηλὸν ὅσον τριῶν ἥμισυ σταδίων ἔχον τὴν κάθετον, τὴν δ' ἀνάβασιν καὶ τριάκοντα σταδίων, εἰς ὀξεῖαν τελευτᾷ κορυφήν. καλεῖται δὲ Ἀκροκόρινθος, οὗ τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἄρκτον μέρος ἐστὶ τὸ μάλιστα ὄρθιον, ὑφ' ᾧ κεῖται ἡ πόλις ἐπὶ τραπεζώδους ἐπιπέδου χωρίου πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ ῥίζῃ τοῦ Ἀκροκορίνθου … ἡ μὲν οὖν κορυφὴ ναΐδιον ἔχει Ἀφροδίτης, ὑπὸ δὲ τῇ κορυφῇ τὴν Πειρήνην εἶναι συμβαίνει κρήνην, ἔκρυσιν μὲν οὐκ ἔχουσαν, μεστὴν δ' ἀεὶ διαυγοῦς καὶ ποτίμου ὕδατος … ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς κορυφῆς πρὸς ἄρκτον μὲν ἀφορᾶται

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20 For equivalent use of γεωγραφεῖ, again with 'mountains' as the subject, see 4.1.11; and for equivalent passages with ὑπογράφειν, see (among others) 3.2.13, 5.1.2, 8.1.3, 12.3.42.

21 Cf. Strabo 7.5.1, where he corrects Polybius' claims about the view from Mt. Haemus (although he makes no claim to have been there himself).

22 See Jaeger 2007 on the account of Philip's ascent of Mt. Haemus in Livy 40.21–22, stressing the contrast between Livy's own perceptiveness and Philip's difficulty of perception.

> ὅ τε Παρνασσὸς καὶ ὁ Ἑλικών, ὄρη ὑψηλὰ καὶ νιφόβολα, καὶ ὁ Κρισαῖος κόλπος ὑποπεπτωκὼς ἀμφοτέροις, περιεχόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς Φωκίδος καὶ τῆς Βοιωτίας καὶ τῆς Μεγαρίδος καὶ τῆς ἀντιπόρθμου τῇ Φωκίδι Κορινθίας καὶ Σικυωνίας.

The references here to religious culture and mythical stories and their place in the landscape brings Strabo in line with the traditions of local history we find in Pausanias a century and a half later. But it is mapping above all that interests him here. The passage suggests that climbing mountains could have been a practical help to geographical writers like Strabo. But surely more important than the data he can gather when he is standing on the summit is the fact that it gives him a way of imagining the world, spread out before him, and particularly the other mountains, which are so prominent and so helpful as boundary markers and regional landmarks. The use of shapes—the trapezium shape of Corinth—is one he returns to for much vaster regions which without space travel could only ever be seen from the mind's eye. And perhaps most important of all is the way in which he drifts immediately after this paragraph into an account of the plains around Corinth, in a way which makes it momentarily hard to be sure whether he is still on the mountaintop, or whether he has just reverted to his usual technique of mental mapping as if from on high (Str. 8.6.22):

> The beginning of the coastal district on the two sides is on the one side Lechaeum, and on the other Cenchreae, a village and harbor which is about seventy stadia away from Corinth … Lechaeum lies beneath the city, having few residents, but walls about twelve stadia in length have been built on both sides of the Lechaeum road.

> ἀρχὴ δὲ τῆς παραλίας ἑκατέρας, τῆς μὲν τὸ Λέχαιον, τῆς δὲ Κεγχρεαὶ κώμη καὶ λιμήν, ἀπέχων τῆς πόλεως ὅσον ἑβδομήκοντα σταδίους … τὸ δὲ Λέχαιον ὑποπέπτωκε τῇ πόλει κατοικίαν ἔχον οὐ πολλήν· σκέλη δὲ καθείλκυσται σταδίων περὶ δώδεκα ἑκατέρωθεν τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ Λέχαιον.

In all of these respects Strabo is not unusual. However, there is one thing that does make him stand out from his predecessors conspicuously and that is the complexity of his treatment of the human domestication of mountainous territories. Descriptions of the conquest of mountain peoples is surprisingly rare in earlier geographical and historiographical writing. For example, the passage already quoted above from Herodotus (4.23–25), on the land beyond the Scythians, stresses the unknowability and unconquerability of the moun-

tains, and in Ammianus too the difficulty of controlling the mountain tribes is a constant source of anxiety.[23] Reconstruction of the physical landscape is also surprisingly uncommon, and where it does occurs it is nearly always portrayed in negative terms, in contrast with Strabo's much more positive assessment: Herodotus is again a case in point. He does occasionally celebrate human shaping of the landscape, for example in his portrayal of the tunnels dug through the mountainside by the people of Samos to bring water into their city (Hdt. 3.60). But for the most part—and increasingly so as the *Histories* go on—altering mountain landscape is portrayed as tyrannical and hybristic behaviour. Later in the same book, for example, we hear about a plateau in Asia surrounded by a wall of mountains which is interrupted only by five separate gorges, each one inhabited by a different tribe (Hdt. 3.117). The Persian king dams up all five gorges, making the plateau into a sea, and opens the gates only when the desperate, water-starved tribes come to plead with him and bring tribute. That theme reaches its climax in Xerxes' invasion of Greece, for example in the digging of a canal through the peninsula around Mt. Athos.[24] For Strabo, by contrast, human alteration of the physical landscape seems to be entirely lacking in any connotations of *hubris* almost whenever it occurs in his text.[25] That celebration of human conquest of the mountains might be explained in part by the influence of Strabo's Roman imperial context—certainly many of the best parallels we have are from the Augustan period and after, as we shall see below—but we should not for that reason underestimate how unusually intricate and extensive Strabo's treatment is, especially by the standards of other geographical and historiographical writing.

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23 For another good point of comparison from just half a century before one might look at Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica* 5, which pays some attention (although much less frequently than Strabo) to Roman attempts to subdue local populations in the mountains, but focuses instead on their lack of success: e.g., see Diod. Sic. 5.15.4–5 and 5.34.7.

24 Hdt. 7.22–24, with an explicit accusation of *hubris* at 7.24; and for the mountains of mainland Greece resisting the Persian invasion with deadly storms, see 6.44 (the storm around Mt. Athos that prompts Xerxes to order the digging of the canal), 7.42.2 (a storm around Mt. Ida), 7.188 and 8.12 (storms around Mt. Pelion).

25 Cf. Clarke 1999, 220–221 on Strabo's strikingly positive representation of the movement of resources to Rome, including marble and gold from the Empire's mines, although with occasional hints of disapproval at Rome's extravagance.

## 3 Spain and the Alps

First Spain. Here perhaps more than anywhere in the work Strabo (and apparently also Posidonius, who seems to have been his source for some of this material)[26] is obsessed with the process whereby Roman has pacified brigands and brought political and military control to wild populations. Occasionally he reports setbacks and defeats for the Roman army, but the overarching story is one of successful taming. He talks, for example, about the tribes around the river Tagos (Str. 3.3.5):

> Even though the land was blessed with fruits and cattle and an abundance of silver and gold and other similar metals,[27] nevertheless most of the people had given up on getting their livelihood from the soil, and spent their time in banditry and continual war … until the Romans stopped them, humbling them and turning most of their cities into villages, although some they improved by joining them together. It was the mountain people (οἱ ὀρεινοί) who began this lawlessness, as one would expect; for since they occupied inferior land and possessed very little, they desired what belonged to others.
>
> εὐδαίμονος δὲ τῆς χώρας ὑπαρχούσης κατά τε καρποὺς καὶ βοσκήματα καὶ τὸ τοῦ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ τῶν παραπλησίων πλῆθος, ὅμως οἱ πλείους αὐτῶν, τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀφέντες βίον, ἐν λῃστηρίοις διετέλουν καὶ συνεχεῖ πολέμῳ … ἕως ἔπαυσαν αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαῖοι, ταπεινώσαντες καὶ κώμας ποιήσαντες τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν τὰς πλείστας, ἐνίας δὲ καὶ συνοικίζοντες βέλτιον. ἦρχον δὲ τῆς ἀνομίας ταύτης οἱ ὀρεινοί, καθάπερ εἰκός· λυπρὰν γὰρ νεμόμενοι καὶ μικρὰ κεκτημένοι τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐπεθύμουν.

Here there is a direct link between infertile landscape and warlike behavior. But Strabo also stresses that wild places can be brought under control: for example, at 3.3.8 he describes the way in which Augustus has subdued the Cantabrians;

26 E.g., see Lasserre 1966–1981 *ad* 3.3.5 and 3.3.8.

27 Strabo's repeated mention of mines in mountainous areas (which is so frequent that some commentators have assumed that he must have had some involvement in the mining industry himself: e.g., Roller 2014, 12–13) is the obvious exception to his characterization of these regions as infertile and economically unproductive. However, mineral wealth rarely seems to translate into wealth for the local population; 3.2.3 is a good example: 'the areas that have mines are necessarily rough and rather poor' (τὰ μὲν οὖν τὰς μεταλλείας ἔχοντα χωρία ἀνάγκη τραχέα τε εἶναι καὶ παράλυπρα).

Tiberius, by assigning to them an army of three legions 'has succeeded not only in making some of them peaceful, but also in accustoming them to life as citizens' (οὐ μόνον εἰρηνικούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολιτικοὺς ἤδη τινὰς αὐτῶν ἀπεργασάμενος τυγχάνει).

Later Strabo moves on to the Alps, and the story is the same (Str. 4.6.7):

> Most of the territory of the Salassi lies in a deep glen, shut in by mountains on both sides, but a part of it stretches up to the summits above … Until quite recently … they were still powerful, and as is customary for brigands they inflicted much damage upon those who traveled through their mountains … Once these men robbed even Caesar and threw rocks on his soldiers … But later Augustus overthrew them completely … and now the whole of the neighboring country as far as the highest parts of the passes over the mountain is in a state of peace.[28]
>
> ἡ δὲ τῶν Σαλασσῶν πολλὴ μέν ἐστιν ἐν αὐλῶνι βαθεῖ, τῶν ὀρῶν ἀμφοτέρωθεν κλειόντων τὸ χωρίον, μέρος δέ τι αὐτῶν ἀνατείνει καὶ πρὸς τὰς ὑπερκειμένας κορυφάς … μέχρι μὲν δὴ τῶν νεωστὶ χρόνων … ἴσχυον ὅμως, καὶ πολλὰ κατέβλαπτον τοὺς δι' αὐτῶν ὑπερβάλλοντας τὰ ὄρη κατὰ τὸ ληστρικὸν ἔθος … ἐσύλησαν δέ ποτε καὶ χρήματα Καίσαρος οἱ ἄνδρες οὗτοι καὶ ἐπέβαλον κρημνοὺς στρατοπέδοις … ὕστερον μέντοι κατεστρέψατο αὐτοὺς ἄρδην ὁ Σεβαστὸς … καὶ νῦν εἰρήνην ἄγει πᾶσα ἡ πλησιόχωρος μέχρι τῶν ἄκρων ὑπερβολῶν τοῦ ὄρους.

One might argue that Strabo's repeated reference to Roman conquest of the mountains is a celebration of the triumph of empire, given that mountains are the limit case of inhospitable terrain and hostile humanity.[29] That view is not self-evident, given that he also spends a lot of time describing territories which are far beyond the reach of Rome. However, his mountain depictions certainly

28 For similar references to Augustus exercising control over mountainous regions, see 3.4.20, 4.6.6 and 4.6.10; and 4.6.9 for Tiberius in the Alps, with Pothecary 2002, 398–399, who uses this and other passages to argue that Strabo was writing under Tiberius.

29 The degree to which we should see Strabo's work as a celebration of empire or enabled by empire has been much debated. Nicolet 1991 has argued influentially in favor of that view, e.g., 1991, 47: 'Strabo's intentions, in writing his geography, are clearly political. His description of the world, when seen as a whole, is constructed so as to lead to Rome's pretended universal domination'. Woolf 2011, 59–88 is more skeptical, both for Strabo and for other ancient ethnographic writers. See also Pothecary 2005, esp. 169–173 on the Alps, for the point that Strabo's account largely ignores Roman provincial divisions.

have a great deal in common with other celebrations of Roman imperial dominance over the landscape in the centuries before and after.[30] The boasts of the emperor Augustus, in his *Res gestae*, parallel Strabo's account: 'I pacified the Alps, from the region which is closest to the Adriatic, as far as the Tuscan Sea, without waging war unjustly on any tribe' (*Alpes a regione ea quae proxima est Hadriano mari ad Tuscum pacificavi nulli genti bello per iniuriam inlato*) (*Mon. Anc.* 26).[31] Images of mountains and rivers were regularly carried in procession in the triumphs which made their way through the streets of Rome to celebrate successful military campaigns. Tacitus (*Annals* 2.41) tells us:

> In the consulate of Gaius Caelius and Lucius Pomponius, Germanicus Caesar, on 26 May, celebrated his triumph over the Cherusci, the Chatti, the Angrivarii, and the other tribes that inhabit the territory as far as the Elbe. Spoils and captives were carried in procession, along with images of mountains and rivers and battles.
>
> C. Caelio L. Pomponio consulibus Germanicus Caesar a. d. VII Kal. Iunias triumphavit de Cheruscis Chattisque et Angrivariis quaeque aliae nationes usque ad Albim colunt. vecta spolia, captivi, simulacra montium, fluminum, proeliorum.

In many accounts of Roman empire-building we see not only conquest of people but also physical domination over the land itself. The orator Aelius Aristides, in his speech *Praise of Rome*, composed a century and a half after Strabo, talks about the ease of travel that Roman rule has brought with it (Aristid. *Or.* 26.100–101):

> Neither do the Cilician Gates [i.e., a high pass through the Taurus mountains] hold any terror, nor the narrow, sandy routes into Egypt through the country of the Arabs, nor inaccessible mountains, nor boundless stretches of river nor hostile barbarian peoples … You have measured the whole inhabited world, you have yoked rivers with many different kinds of bridges, you have cut through mountains to make them accessible to traffic.

30 See also Caes. *BGall.* 1.21–26 for a good example of Roman conquest of mountains on campaign.

31 See also Plin. *HN* 3.136–137 for partial quotation from Augustus' monument at La Turbia, which lists the tribes he had conquered in the Alps (*CIL* V 7817), with Dueck 2000, 127 on its relevance to Strabo.

> καὶ οὔτε Πύλαι Κιλίκιοι φόβον παρέχουσιν οὔτε στεναὶ καὶ ψαμμώδεις δι' Ἀράβων ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον πάροδοι, οὐκ ὄρη δύσβατα, οὐ ποταμῶν ἄπειρα μεγέθη, οὐ γένη βαρβάρων ἄμικτα ... καταμετρήσαντες μὲν πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην, ζεύξαντες δὲ παντοδαπαῖς γεφύραις ποταμούς, καὶ ὄρη κόψαντες ἱππήλατον γῆν εἶναι.

Strabo sums up that civilizing mission explicitly in one remarkable passage early on in the work, even before he launches into the detailed account of Spain (Str. 2.5.26):

> Of the inhabitable part of Europe, the wintry and mountainous areas are by nature miserable places of habitation, but even regions of poverty and banditry become tamed (ἡμεροῦται) once they get good administrators. That is the case for the Greeks, who inhabit rocks and mountains but lived well because of their interest in political life and in the arts and because of their knowledge of the art of living in other respects too. The Romans too took over many peoples who were naturally untamed (ἀνήμερα) because they inhabited regions that were rough or harborless or cold or for other reasons difficult to inhabit, and they brought into communication with each other peoples who had previously been isolated, and they taught the wilder people how to live as citizens.

> τῆς δ' οἰκησίμου τὸ μὲν δυσχείμερον καὶ τὸ ὀρεινὸν μοχθηρῶς οἰκεῖται τῇ φύσει, ἐπιμελητὰς δὲ λαβόντα ἀγαθοὺς καὶ τὰ φαύλως οἰκούμενα καὶ λῃστρικῶς ἡμεροῦται. καθάπερ οἱ Ἕλληνες, ὄρη καὶ πέτρας κατέχοντες, ᾤκουν καλῶς διὰ πρόνοιαν τὴν περὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ καὶ τὰς τέχνας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην σύνεσιν τὴν περὶ βίον. Ῥωμαῖοί τε πολλὰ ἔθνη παραλαβόντες καὶ τὴν φύσιν ἀνήμερα διὰ τοὺς τόπους ἢ τραχεῖς ὄντας ἢ ἀλιμένους ἢ ψυχροὺς ἢ ἀπ' ἄλλης αἰτίας δυσοικήτους τούς τε ἀνεπιπλέκτους ἀλλήλοις ἐπέπλεξαν καὶ τοὺς ἀγριωτέρους πολιτικῶς ζῆν ἐδίδαξαν.

This passage is programmatic for the rest of the work: the vocabulary Strabo uses here is echoed again and again in the books that follow. And the repeated metaphor of taming—which was so common also in nineteenth-century empire-building rhetoric—leaves us in no doubt about Rome's capacity for benevolent dominance over the mountains.

## 4 Italy and Greece

Strabo's depiction of the mountains and hills of Italy and Greece, as the last passage might lead us to expect, could hardly be more different. When we come down from the Alps into Italy at the beginning of book 5, or from the wild country of Thrace into mainland Greece in book 8, we enter a different world. For Strabo, mountains can be obstacles to civilization, but they need not necessarily be so. Here they are integrated within human culture in a gradual and more careful fashion. That is partly a reflection of how things were: the hills of north-central Italy simply were more urbanized than the Pyrenees. But we should not doubt the artfulness of Strabo's portrayal of that fact.

Most strikingly, mountains in Italy come to be linked with civic identity. A very large proportion of the cities Strabo describes are built close to mountains or even more strikingly on or around mountains. That theme is not completely absent even in his account of Spain.[32] But its frequency for mainland Italy and Greece is remarkable. For example in sections 2 and 3 of book 5, Strabo describes 13 different settlements (more than half the total number of cities he mentions in that part of the text) built on or around mountains or hills.[33] Take Praeneste, for example (Str. 5.3.11):

> It has for a citadel a high mountain above the city … And in addition to its natural strength, hidden passages have been cut through the mountain from all sides as far as the plain, some for water supply, and some as concealed exits.
>
> ἄκραν … ἔχει τῆς μὲν πόλεως ὕπερθεν ὄρος ὑψηλόν … πρὸς δὲ τῇ ἐρυμνότητι καὶ διώρυξι κρυπταῖς διατέτρηται πανταχόθεν μέχρι τῶν πεδίων, ταῖς μὲν ὑδρείας χάριν, ταῖς δ' ἐξόδων λαθραίων.

In passages like these, as for Herodotus' Samians, there is a striking absence of any link between alteration of landscape and hybris. That sense of integration of city and nature is often combined with a stress on the fertility of the moun-

32 E.g., see 3.3.1 for the city of Moron 'well situated on a mountain' (εὖ κειμένην ἐν ὄρει).

33 Luna (5.2.5); Volaterrani (5.2.6); Poplonium (5.2.6); Cossa (5.2.8); Feronia (5.2.9); Antium (5.3.5); luxury cave dwellings along the Caeatian gulf (5.3.6); Rome (5.3.7: see further below); Labicum (5.3.9); Venafrum (5.3.10); Praeneste (5.3.11); Foruli (5.3.11); Tusculum (5.3.12); Alba (5.3.13). Book 5 also contains a number of examples of cities built around water: e.g., Ravenna, which is built around the marshes and 'intersected by streams' (διάρρυτος) (5.1.7).

tains of Italy which is precisely opposite to Strabo's representation of the sterile Pyrenees. Of Tusculum he says (Str. 5.3.12):

> It is adorned by the plantations and villas that surround it, and particularly by those that extend below the city towards Rome; for here Tusculum is a fertile and well-watered hill, with many gentle summits and magnificent palace constructions. Next to it are also the foothills of Mt. Albanus, which have the same kind of fertility and the same kind of buildings.
>
> κεκόσμηται δὲ ταῖς κύκλῳ φυτείαις καὶ οἰκοδομίαις, καὶ μάλιστα ταῖς ὑποπιπτούσαις ἐπὶ τὸ κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην μέρος. τὸ γὰρ Τοῦσκλον ἐνταῦθα ἐστὶ λόφος εὔγεως καὶ εὔυδρος, κορυφούμενος ἠρέμα πολλαχοῦ καὶ δεχόμενος βασιλείων κατασκευὰς ἐκπρεπεστάτας. συνεχῆ δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ τῷ Ἀλβανῷ ὄρει ὑποπίπτοντα, τὴν αὐτήν τε ἀρετὴν ἔχοντα καὶ κατασκευήν.

We hear later that Mt. Vesusius and Mt. Etna are fruitful places too, surrounded by farmland which is nourished by their volcanic ash.[34] Such passages are typical of the way in which the mountains of Italy are associated, on Strabo's account, with economic advantage, very much unlike their Spanish and Alpine equivalents. For example, his list of the advantages which Italy's geography has produced, includes the following (Str. 6.4.1):

> Since the Apennine mountains stretch along the whole length of Italy, leaving on both sides plains and hills that bear abundant fruit, there is no part of the country that does not share in the advantages of both mountain and plain.[35]
>
> τῶν γὰρ Ἀπεννίνων ὀρῶν δι' ὅλου τοῦ μήκους διατεταμένων, ἐφ' ἑκάτερον δὲ τὸ πλευρὸν πεδία καὶ γεωλοφίας καλλικάρπους ἀπολειπόντων, οὐδὲν μέρος αὐτῆς ἐστιν, ὃ μὴ καὶ τῶν ὀρείων ἀγαθῶν καὶ τῶν πεδινῶν ἀπολαῦον τυγχάνει.

He also regularly lists religious and mythical traditions associated with particular mountains and their nearby communities, in a way that reminds us how

34 Str. 5.4.8 for Vesuvius; 6.2.3 for Etna. For Etna, see also the chapter by Richard Buxton in this volume.

35 On Posidonius' Stoic ideas about the links between imperial good fortune and the blessings of Italian geography, and their influence over Strabo, see Swain 1996, 205, with reference to this passage and others.

profoundly embedded they are within a local culture that had been built up over many hundreds of years.[36]

Admittedly many of these Italian cities did have their own moments of resistance to Rome, and Strabo does acknowledge that, in a way that might remind us of the mountain conflicts of books 3–4; but he also makes clear that they lay firmly in the past, standing as occasional moments of disruption in a much more orderly history.[37] By contrast, when Strabo leaves mainland Italy briefly in 5.2.7 to take us in turn to Corsica and Sardinia, we see a fleeting recurrence of the motif of unruly mountain tribes guilty of large-scale brigandage and pacified in the very recent past by the Roman army. The same goes for his portrayal of Sicily in 6.2.6, where Strabo describes how he saw a famous brigand from Mt. Etna executed in the arena in Rome by being placed on a stage-set version of the mountain which then collapsed into a cage of wild animals underneath. That image encapsulates the difference between the wild bandit country on the edges of Roman civilization and the domesticated mountains of the mainland: the stage-set Etna is a miniaturized version of the crafted landscapes Strabo has described over and over again for Italy itself.

Strabo's account of the Seven Hills of Rome is part of the wider narrative of the domestication of mountain landscape, although it has never to my knowledge been analyzed in relation to that wider theme in the text as a whole.[38] One immediately striking feature is Strabo's frequent use of the word ὄρος ('mountain') to describe the Caelian and Aventine Hills.[39] More often in other Greek authors the hills of Rome are described by the word λόφος ('hill') (peaks did not necessarily have to be particularly high to be referred to as ὄρος—prominence from the land around seems to have counted for more—but most of the hills of Rome are joined with each other, rather than being

36 E.g., 5.2.9 for the rituals practiced in Feronia at the foot of Mt. Soracte; 5.3.2 for the foundation of Alba on Mt. Albanus by Ascanius.

37 E.g., 5.2.6 for Volaterrani, occupied by the opponents of Sulla and then besieged for two years; 5.3.5 for the piracy of the inhabitants of Antium, later curtailed by the Romans; 5.3.11 for Praeneste, where Strabo tells us that Marius was killed while being besieged.

38 Vout 2012 mentions Strabo a number of times (e.g., 9–10, 57, 80) in the context of other ancient writing about the hills of Rome, but without noting that this is an important moment in Strabo's long narrative of the domestication of mountain territory, although her suggestion (2010, 57) that the acquisition of the hills 'was an early model for imperial expansion' seems particularly appropriate to Strabo's text.

39 To my knowledge the only parallel is Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.79.12 for the Aventine and 2.50.1 for the Caelian. Dionysius' *Antiquitates Romanae* 1, which was written, probably like much of the *Geography*, under the reign of Augustus, contains some of the best parallels for Strabo's image of the absorption of the hills of Italy into civilized Roman culture.

isolated summits, which may explain the standard usage).[40] Strabo's unusual preference is an invitation to read this passage in relation to the many other mountains of the *Geography* as a whole. And once again he returns repeatedly to the theme of domestication. He tells us, for example (Str. 5.3.7):

> The first settlers walled the Capitoline and the Palatine and the Quirinal Hill … And Ancus Marcius took in the Caelian mountain (ὄρος) and the Aventine mountain (ὄρος) and the plain between them … for it was not a good thing to leave such strong hills outside the walls for any who wanted to get hold of fortifications, nor was he able to fill out the whole circle as far as the Quirinal. Servius, however, detected the gap, for he filled it by adding both the Esquiline Hill and the Viminal … In the beginning, then … there was nothing fortunate in their position that could be expected to bring blessings to the city; but when the region had become their own property, through their virtue and their hard work, then there was an accumulation of blessings that went beyond all natural advantages.
>
> οἱ μέν γε πρῶτοι τὸ Καπιτώλιον καὶ τὸ Παλάτιον καὶ τὸν Κουρῖνον λόφον ἐτείχισαν … Ἄγκος δὲ Μάρκιος προσλαβὼν τὸ Καίλιον ὄρος καὶ τὸ Ἀβεντῖνον ὄρος καὶ τὸ μεταξὺ τούτων πεδίον … οὔτε γὰρ οὕτως ἐρυμνοὺς λόφους ἔξω τείχους ἐᾶσαι τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐπιτειχίσματα καλῶς εἶχεν, οὔθ' ὅλον ἐκπληρῶσαι τὸν κύκλον ἴσχυσε τὸν μέχρι τοῦ Κουρίνου. ἤλεγξε δὲ Σέρουιος τὴν ἔκλειψιν· ἀνεπλήρωσε γὰρ προσθεὶς τόν τε Ἠσκυλῖνον λόφον καὶ τὸν Οὐιμίναλιν … κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν οὖν … τὸ μακαρισθησόμενον οὐδὲν ἦν τοπικὸν εὐκλήρημα· τῇ δ' ἀρετῇ καὶ τῷ πόνῳ τῆς χώρας οἰκείας γενομένης, ἐφάνη συνδρομή τις ἀγαθῶν ἅπασαν εὐφυΐαν ὑπερβάλλουσα.

This is a partly a man-made landscape, then: threatening mountains, which could shelter enemies, are made benign through being absorbed into the space of the city.

Remarkably, Strabo then goes on to suggest that this kind of domestication of the mountains opens the way for aesthetic appreciation (Str. 5.3.8):

> They have also constructed the roads that run through the country, by adding cuts to the hills and embankments to the valleys … The ancient Romans paid no attention to the beauty (τοῦ κάλλους) of Rome, because

40 See Langdon 1999; Latin authors, by contrast, tend to use *mons* over *collis* for the hills of Rome.

> they were occupied with other greater and more necessary matters; but those who came later, and most of all those who live in our time, have not fallen short in this respect either, but have filled the city with many beautiful ornaments … And the works of art that are situated all around [the Campus Martius], and the ground, which is covered with grass all through the year, and the crowns of the hills beyond the river which stretch down to the river, presenting the appearance of a stage-painting (*σκηνογραφικὴν ὄψιν*), all these things provide a spectacle that is hard to draw away from (*δυσαπάλλακτον*) … The most noteworthy [of the city's tombs] is the one called the Mausoleum, a great mound by the river built on a high foundation of white marble, covered right up to its summit with evergreen trees … Such is Rome.
>
> ἔστρωσαν δὲ καὶ τὰς κατὰ τὴν χώραν ὁδούς, προσθέντες ἐκκοπάς τε λόφων καὶ ἐγχώσεις κοιλάδων … οἱ παλαιοὶ μὲν τοῦ κάλλους τῆς Ῥώμης ὠλιγώρουν, πρὸς ἄλλοις μείζοσι καὶ ἀναγκαιοτέροις ὄντες· οἱ δ' ὕστερον, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ νῦν καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς, οὐδὲ τούτου καθυστέρησαν, ἀλλ' ἀναθημάτων πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν ἐπλήρωσαν τὴν πόλιν … καὶ τὰ περικείμενα ἔργα καὶ τὸ ἔδαφος ποάζον δι' ἔτους καὶ τῶν λόφων στεφάναι τῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μέχρι τοῦ ῥείθρου σκηνογραφικὴν ὄψιν ἐπιδεικνύμεναι δυσαπάλλακτον παρέχουσι τὴν θέαν … ἀξιολογώτατον δὲ τὸ Μαυσώλειον καλούμενον, ἐπὶ κρηπῖδος ὑψηλῆς λευκολίθου πρὸς τῷ ποταμῷ χῶμα μέγα, ἄχρι κορυφῆς τοῖς ἀειθαλέσι τῶν δένδρων συνηρεφές … τοιαύτη μὲν ἡ Ῥώμη.

Arguably, this passage contradicts the standard idea that ancient writers were uninterested in mountain beauty, although it is important to stress that it is very different from aesthetic appreciation of wild, untamed nature, for example in Romantic conceptions of the picturesque and the sublime. In a sense that is precisely the point in this passage: the mountains gain beauty precisely through the process of domestication. There are parallels for beautiful mountains in ancient literature, but the vast majority are linked with mountains which have been similarly absorbed within urban scenes or urban settings.[41] The noun Strabo uses at the beginning of the passage (τὸ *κάλλος*) is usually reserved for eroticized, human beauty. Here it is associated with the kinds of viewing that take place only at a late stage in the process of taming the natural world: the Romans have no time for it at the start. Rome is beautiful in this

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41 E.g., see Plin. *Ep.* 5.6 for mountains described as beautiful in the context of a description of the beauty of Pliny's villa and its surroundings.

passage above all as an urban landscape, and the hills and mountains share that beauty insofar as they are absorbed into the city or at least made complementary to it. Not only do the Romans cut roads through the hills in order to facilitate that process of urban adornment; not only do they construct the artfully naturalistic summit of the Mausoleum—which is presented almost as an artificial mountain—within the boundaries of the city; they also situate the artwork of the city in such a way that it is framed by the crowns of the hills above (it sounds as if Strabo is looking westwards here, past the luxurious buildings of the Campus Martius in the foreground, and over the Tiber to the Janiculum and Monte Mario, rather than eastwards towards the city with its Seven Hills).[42] The image of the stage-set adds to the impression of domestication and urbanization of the hills; it seems particularly appropriate given the proximity of the recently built theaters and amphitheater of the Campus Martius, to which Strabo refers just a few lines later. And for Strabo, at least momentarily, the experience of the scene seems to be almost overwhelmingly an aesthetic one. The word 'hard to draw away from' (δυσαπάλλακτον) is an odd one to use—it is usually applied to things that are unpleasant and hard to escape from, like diseases—but it does nevertheless convey an impression of almost irresistible personal engagement with the beauty of the view.

Strabo's Greece, too, is full of cities built around mountains.[43] Corinth is an obvious example: he tells us that even Acrocorinth itself was incorporated within the wall that used to surround the city (8.6.21). Book 8 also regularly associates mountains with local, religious history. Pausanias and Strabo are often contrasted with each other, but actually in book 8 of Strabo is in some respects very Pausanian.[44] Just occasionally Strabo does mention examples of banditry in the mountains of Greece, in a way which recalls his repeated obsession with that motif for the Pyrenees and the Alps, and also for the mountains of Thrace in book 7 (Mt. Haemus in Thrace was the archetypal home of bandits in the ancient imagination). For example, at 9.1.4 he describes the Scironian rocks, and reminds us that they were the setting for the stories about the bandits Sciron and Pityocamptes who were killed by Theseus. But the whole point here is the antiquity of that episode. In Greece, the pacification of the

42 Alternatively one might imagine him standing on the west bank of the Tiber, looking eastwards over the river towards the city.

43 E.g., Argos (8.6.7); Epidaurus (8.6.15); Athens (9.1.16); various cities of Aetolia (10.2.4).

44 See Pretzler 2005 for the differences between Strabo's global vision and Pausanias' localism, but also 2005, 149 for acknowledgement of the fact that Strabo's Greek books are more Pausanian than others.

mountains lies in the very distant past: this territory is firmly separated from the rough zones of the world where that process of integration is either very recent or ongoing.

## 5 Pontus

In practice, however, the distinction between civilized and uncivilized territories sometimes becomes blurred in the text. Civilized territories can contain motifs associated with uncivilized ones, and vice versa, and some regions in particular seem to stand as marginal zones which do not fit comfortably into one category or the other. That becomes clear especially when we move to Asia Minor, from the Greek islands, in book 11; and even more so when we get to Strabo's home territory of Pontus, and the other territories of central and northern Anatolia, in book 12.

As we move into these regions in book 11, we start to see a recurrence of ethnographic descriptions of uncivilized mountain populations,[45] of the kind which had been largely absent in the previous few books set in Greece, along with a renewed interest in mountain brigands and anecdotes about their pacification. It is clear that we are back in rough and threatening territory. We also start to see more and more frequent references to Mithridates and his wars against the Romans between 88 and 63 BCE, and especially to the campaign against him led by the Roman general Pompey (Pompeius Magnus). Once again, as in Spain, the Roman forces do not have it all their own way. For example, in 12.3.18 Strabo tells the story of a wild mountain people called the Heptakometai, who drug Pompey's soldiers with madness-inducing honey and then cut them down. But as our journey goes on more and more signs emerge of Pompey's success in bringing the east and its mountains under control.[46]

However, the focus on Mithridates also complicates Strabo's portrayal of the region.[47] For one thing he makes it clear that he has a family connection with

45 E.g., see 11.5.6, 11.7.1, 11.9.1, 11.13.3, 11.13.6, 11.14.4.

46 E.g., see 11.8.4.

47 Cf. Clarke 1999, 228–244, who is cautious about ascribing a conspicuously Pontic perspective to Strabo, but nevertheless points to some of the complexities and ambiguities of this section of the text, for example the way in which Strabo complicates any simple civilized-uncivilized dichotomy here by his mention of Roman involvement in piracy; also Braund 2005 on the prominent role of the Black Sea region in the text, although on the whole stressing the supportive character of Strabo's account of Roman imperialism in the region.

Mithridates, through his grandfather, who served as one of his commanders, as Strabo tells us (although he also handed over some of Mithridates' fortresses to the Romans towards the end of the war).[48] Presumably Strabo himself grew up in the area in the aftermath of Pompey's defeat of Mithridates. In Strabo's account of it, the area of Pontus and around turns out to be full of precisely the kind of intricately crafted rock-built towns and fortresses that function as signs of civilization in Italy and Greece, although in this case they are used as strongholds against the Romans, who usually get the better of them sooner or later.[49]

The most important of those rock-built settlements is Strabo's home city of Amaseia, which is built into the rocky landscape around it (Str. 12.3.39):

> It is a marvelously constructed city both by human foresight and by nature,[50] since it can offer at the same time the advantage of a city and a fortress; for it is a high and sheer rock, which descends precipitously down to the river. It has on one side the wall that runs along the edge of the river, where the city is settled, and on the other side the wall that runs up from both sides to the summits … Inside this circuit are both palaces and monuments to the kings … The rock also has inexhaustible reservoirs of water inside it, since two tube-like channels have been dug out, one of them running to the river and the other towards the neck [i.e., the ridge between the two peaks].
>
> κατεσκεύασται δὲ θαυμαστῶς προνοίᾳ τε καὶ φύσει, πόλεως ἅμα τε καὶ φρουρίου παρέχεσθαι χρείαν δυναμένη· πέτρα γὰρ ὑψηλὴ καὶ περίκρημνος, κατερρωγυῖα ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν, τῇ μὲν ἔχουσα τὸ τεῖχος ἐπὶ τῷ χείλει τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καθ' ὃ ἡ πόλις συνῴκισται, τῇ δ' ἀνατρέχον ἑκατέρωθεν ἐπὶ τὰς κορυφάς … ἐν δὲ τῷ περιβόλῳ τούτῳ βασίλειά τ' ἐστὶ καὶ μνήματα βασιλέων … ἔχει δὲ καὶ ὑδρεῖα ἐντὸς ἀναφαίρετα, συρίγγων τετμημένων δυεῖν, τῆς μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν, τῆς δ' ἐπὶ τὸν αὐχένα.

This is another much discussed passage, but as for Strabo's hills of Rome section no-one, to my knowledge, has ever discussed its links with Strabo's wider

48 On Strabo's family connections with Mithridates, see Lindsay 2005, 187, Braund 2005, 224, and Clarke 1997, 100.

49 E.g., see 12.3.28, 12.3.31, 12.3.38; also 14.5.7, 16.2.18 for other nearby examples.

50 On the Stoic overtones of that pairing, see Lindsay 2005, 186–187; for the same pairing for other cities, see 5.3.8 on Rome, and 12.3.11 on Mithridates' capital Sinope, with Clarke 1999, 235–236 and Dueck 2000, 63.

narrative of mountain domestication.[51] Strabo seems to be challenging us to draw our own conclusions about the implications of those links. Clearly Amaseia resembles the rock-built cities of Italy and Greece: there are details here which recall the water channels and palaces of Praeneste and Tusculum. But should we therefore see it as a place that stands apart from the unruly mountain strongholds of Mithridates, which are halfway to the disorderly savagery of the rough mountain people who have been brought under Roman control right across the Mediterranean world? Is this perhaps an elegant compliment to his home city? Or should we see both Amaseia and those other strongholds as indicative of the sophistication of Mithridatic Pontus, whose intricate symbiosis between mountain landscape and urban architecture is very close to what we find in Italy, in a way which complicates any simple opposition between the two?

## 6 Conclusion

I have argued that if we really want to understand Strabo and his mountains we need to read the text from end to end, and we need to be alert to the extraordinarily rich and complex network of internal correspondences between successive sections. Those correspondences contribute to a strong, basic dichotomy between civilized and uncivilized, but they can also complicate it and undermine it. It is important to stress that the volume of information Strabo accumulates within the text is vast: the passages I have collected here represent just a tiny proportion of the text's references to mountains. They follow each other relentlessly, one peak after the next, with the same familiar motifs endlessly repeated and reconfigured. And as we move through that immensely complicated terrain, the transitions from rough landscape to civilized landscape are sometimes equivocal and hard to perceive, just as they are in any physical journey as we try to sense the changing character of the land we are passing through, until we step back and contemplate it from a distance. The text Strabo offers us has very little in common with Romantic and post-Romantic writing about mountaineering and about the pleasures and beauties of mountain landscape. But his fascination with mountains, and the richness and sophistication of his engagement with them, are surely equal to anything we find in modern literature.

51 Lindsay 2005 does draw a link with the other rock-built dwellings in Strabo's account of the Pontus region, but makes no reference to other sections of the text.

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CHAPTER 4

# Mountain, Myth, and Territory: Teuthrania as Focal Point in the Landscape of Pergamon

*Christina G. Williamson*

For to see is *to have at a distance*

MERLEAU-PONTY 1964, 166

## 1 Introduction

Creating a symbolic focus that fosters territorial consolidation is a critical factor in the process of state formation.[1] More than governance or force, the power of the imagination ultimately determines the sense of connectedness that can weave together a large geographic area with various local communities and diverse populations. This is even more acute with rapidly emerging states. In such landscapes of flux the administrative control of local centers is clearly vital, but dialogues between the centripetal authority, dispersed communities, and those passing through play a crucial role in constructing a common identity. Military presence and economic incentives are obvious influencing factors, but the mythological landscape wields at least as much potential as a tool of persuasion, with its capacity to map the hierarchy of the past onto the topography of the present.

Pergamon provides an excellent case to examine these issues. Turned into a fortified center by Philetaerus in the 280s BCE, within a century this hilltop town came to rule over most of Asia Minor.[2] A vortex of power, Pergamon rapidly overshadowed the surrounding communities as it battled invading Gauls while encroaching on rival kingdoms.[3] Besides tactical force, the

1 Paasi 2009, 134–136.

2 On Pergamon in general: Ohlemutz 1940; McShane 1964; Hansen 1971; Allen 1983; Radt 1999; more recently Grüßinger, Kästner, and Scholl 2011, Ma 2013 (overview of Attalid exploits), and Pirson and Scholl 2014.

3 Allen 1983, 159: 'Put simply, whereas Pella, Antioch, and Alexandria were the chief cities of kingdoms already in existence, the Attalid Kingdom was built around Pergamon ...'.

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success of the Attalids' territorial expansion depended at least as much on sound investments and negotiation skills, hallmarks of Attalid rule.[4] Under Eumenes II (197–159 BCE), Pergamon was again reinvented as a cosmopolitan and intellectual center. This was clearly a kingdom in a hurry and as such its ideological conception was vital to its authoritative position among neighboring regions and city-states. *Kulturpolitik*, according to Hans-Joachim Schalles, was a critical means to this end.[5] But it was also important as a medium for internal territorial cohesion, particularly in the overlap of Attalid space with the mythological landscape of Mysia. In this landscape the Telephus saga plays a pivotal role. Tanja Scheer interprets the Attalid adoption of this myth as a means of enhancing their political standing by giving them a link to the heroic Greek past.[6] Ann Kuttner, on the other hand, stresses their use of its Asianizing qualities and connections with Anatolian culture.[7] Yet there is a third tangent to this myth—its spatial instrumentality in the Attalid drive towards consolidating territory. Using a variety of sources and theories, I explore how Teuthrania, the central place in the myth, acted as a focus that helped visually and ideologically to pull the surrounding countryside into the sphere of the *Residenzstadt*. Studies in the cognitive sciences and social geography have shown the importance of landmarks, or foregrounded places, as anchors in the mental organization and perception of space. I argue that, besides culturally legitimizing their rule, the significance of the Telephus myth to the Attalids cannot fully be understood without understanding its impact on their territory.

Teuthrania is situated between Pergamon and the coast in the western plain of the Caecus river (the Bakırçay) (Fig. 4.1).[8] The Caecus valley is the corridor that connected the mountains of Phrygia and Lydia in the East with the Aegean in the West where the river emptied near Elaea, Pergamon's principal military harbor. With Pergamon roughly in the middle, this valley remained the heartland of Attalid territory throughout their rule. The western basin has recently been subject to archaeological surveys conducted by the German

4 On the borders of the Attalid state, see Sommerey 2008, esp. 136–142; on the *khôra* of Pergamon, Pirson 2012b.

5 Schalles 1985; also McShane 1964; Allen 1983. See Thonemann 2013b on the territorial politics of Eumenes II as a model for Roman imperial policy.

6 Scheer 1993; Scheer 2003.

7 Kuttner 2005.

8 Strabo 13.1.69, discussed below.

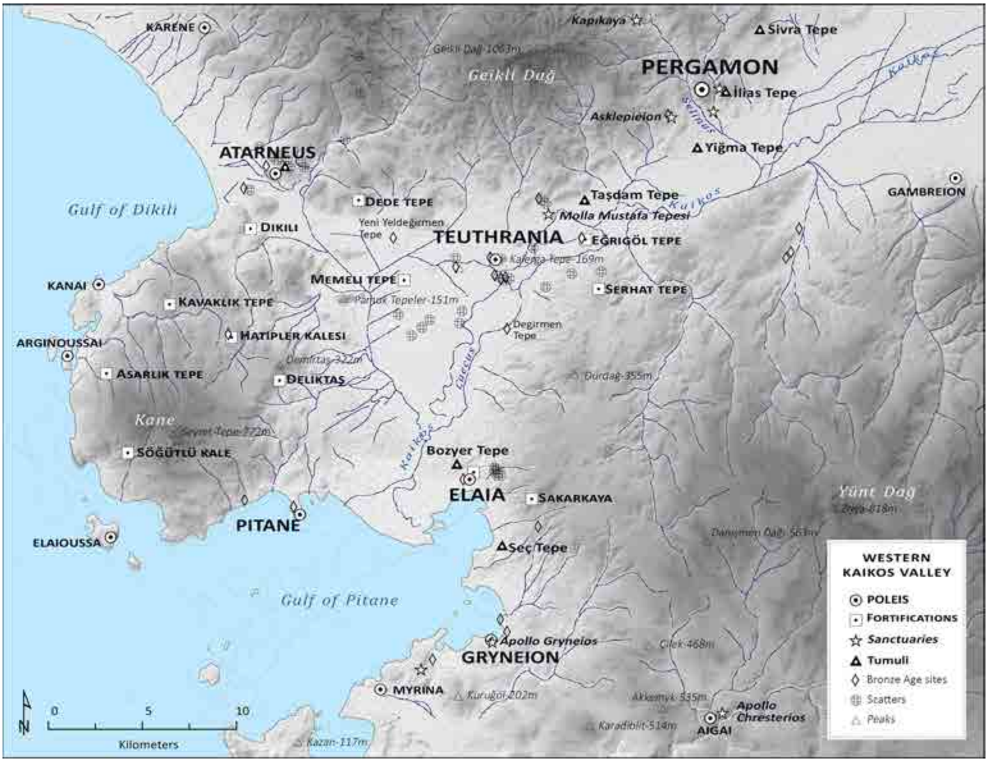


FIGURE 4.1 *Map showing the western Caecus valley and the location of Pergamon, Teuthrania, and Elaea. Icons represent sites with material through to the Hellenistic period.* MAP CREDIT: AUTHOR (USING DAI TOPOGRAPHICAL AND SURVEY DATA WITH PERMISSION FROM F. PIRSON)

Archaeological Institute (DAI) from 2006 until 2012 under the direction of Felix Pirson. Now in the process of publication, these investigations have produced new evidence for the transition in the region that took place in the Hellenistic period, including changes in settlement pattern and a renewed interest in local shrines.[9] This brings a new perspective on the relationships between the *Residenzstadt* and its surrounding communities, illuminating some of the dynamics of the dialogue between city and countryside. The Telephus myth provides a good angle for observing how Pergamon was progressively projected onto the symbolic, heroic, and mythological space of its surrounding landscape.

9 See the *Archäologischer Anzeiger* for interim reports; also Pirson 2012b.

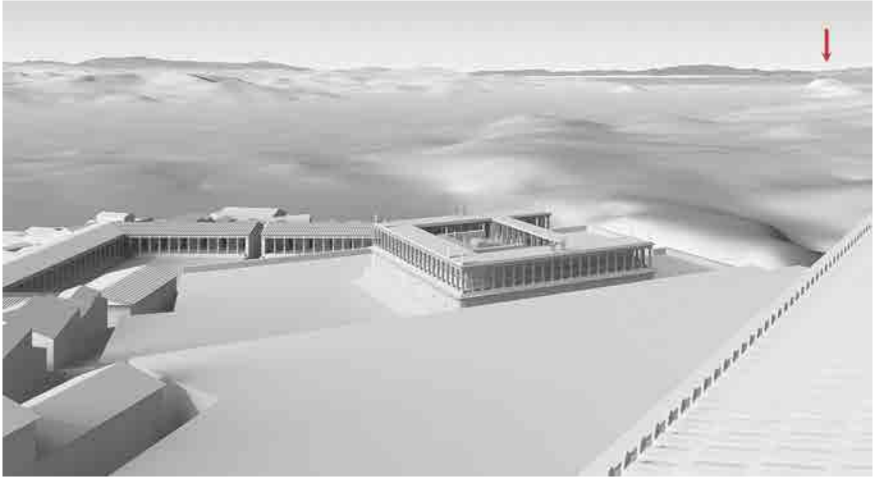

FIGURE 4.2 *Visualization of hypothetical view from the window of the acropolis tower gate over the terrace of the Great Altar and the Caecus valley beyond. Kalerga Tepe/Teuthrania is visible to the far right.*
IMAGE CREDIT: LENGYEL TOULOUSE, BRANDENBURGISCHE TECHNISCHE UNIVERSITÄT COTTBUS

## 2 The Telephus Myth and Teuthrania

The myth of Telephus forms the topic of the central relief of the Great Altar, positioned just below the top of the acropolis on the southern slope (Fig. 4.2). This monument is multi-vocal, addressing different audiences through its sophisticated sculptural program.[10] The Gigantomachy, in high relief on the outer frieze, depicts the battle of the Olympians against the Titans in vivid 3D, implicitly casting a cosmic light on Attalid warfare against the Gauls. The compositional references to the Parthenon in Athens underscore the Attalids' role as champions of Greek culture.[11] At the same time, the monument spoke to those familiar with Anatolian monuments and their visual vocabulary of power.[12] Amidst these international audiences, the message was also brought home through the myth of the legendary local hero Telephus, depicted

10 Select literature: Stähler 1966 and Stähler 1978; Dreyfus and Schraudolph 1996; Kästner 1996; Michels 2003; recently Raeck 2010 and Scholl 2011.

11 Radt 1999, 177: 'Der Kundige wußte hier, was gemeint war: Pergamon, ein zweites Athen, Pergamon als Vorkämpferin der griechischen Freiheit, Pergamon als Erhalterin traditioneller Werte, wie sie seit den Perserkriegen des 5. Jhs. v.Chr. von jedem Griechen verinnerlicht waren'.

12 Kuttner 2005 richly explores the Asianism of the altar and of the Attalids in general.

on the bas-relief frieze in the interior. This complex story, narrated through innovative pictorial devices, is much more subtly portrayed than its boisterous counterpart on the exterior.[13] Located in the most intimate and sacred space, the Telephus saga unrolls around the altar, at the first point of contact with the gods during sacrifice.

The development of this intricate myth, which I will briefly relate here, has been traced by Tanja Scheer.[14] Telephus appears in Homer purely as a Mysian prince, i.e., a noble barbarian.[15] His transfiguration into a Greek hero was a later elaborate twist on the myth of Auge, first conveyed by Hecataeus of Milete.[16] Daughter of Aleus, king of Tegea, Auge had a love affair with Heracles and, when found to be with child, was put to sea in a chest to drown; the sea, however, brought her to Asia Minor and the court of Teuthras, king of Mysia, who married her. Her child remained unnamed in the mythological tradition until the tragedies of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides.[17] In their versions, king Aleus received an oracle from Delphi that one of his sons would be killed by the son of his daughter, and so he committed Auge to Athena Alea as virgin priestess. Despite his efforts to keep her childless, Auge was raped by Heracles during a festival; found pregnant, she was cast to sea while her infant, Telephus, was left to die on a mountain.[18] The child, however, was nursed by a hind and discovered by Heracles. Telephus later returned to Tegea and fulfilled the dreaded prophecy. He then departed for Mysia in search of his mother. At Teuthrania he was welcomed as a friend by king Teuthras, who gave Auge to be his wife. After the necessary misunderstandings, mother and son finally recognized each other. Teuthras then adopted Telephus, who later became king of Mysia. It is in this role that he appeared in the Trojan War, battling Achilles on the banks of the Caecus.[19] Born in Arcadia, son of Heracles, raised in the wild, on a quest that eventually brought him to rule over a foreign land, Telephus became a true Greek hero through these Athenian tragedies.

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13 Carroll-Spillecke 1985 and Osada 1993, suggesting a connection with lost Hellenistic paintings; this is also discussed in Heres 1996, 102, who asserts the sculptural originality of the Telephus relief.

14 Scheer 1993, 71–152; Scheer 2003, 220–226.

15 Hom. *Il.* 1.59 (does not actually mention Telephus); Hom. *Od.* 11.519.

16 *FGrH* 1.29; Pausanias refers to this version (8.4.8–9).

17 Aeschylus: *Mysoe* and *Telephus*; Sophocles: *Aleadae*, *Akhaiôn sullogos*, and *Eurypylus*; Euripides: *Auge* and *Telephus*—all of which have survived only as fragments. See Scheer 1993, 78–82, Preiser 2000 on Euripides' *Telephus*.

18 Ironically, on Mount Parthenion. According to Strabo 13.1.69, Euripides has mother and child arriving in Mysia together (also Strabo 12.8.4), but see Scheer 1993, 81–82.

19 *TrGF* 3, fr. 144 (Aeschylus). Telephus defended his country against the Greeks when they landed on the Mysian coast, mistaking it for Troy.

## 3 Teuthrania and Attalid Monuments

As Scheer points out, the Telephus myth is solidly linked with Mysia and even more with Teuthrania in every version. Some clever mythography was needed to transfer the fame of the hero to Pergamon and the Attalids. The success of the endeavor is proven not only by the frieze on the Great Altar, but also by the tumulus of Auge at Pergamon, noted by Pausanias in the second century CE.[20] Probably conceived by Eumenes II's court poets, the saga narrated on the frieze is a compilation of the extant versions with some new twists.[21] But it is not without precedent. Attalus I (241–197 BCE) had already referenced the myth through the monument that he dedicated at Delos, the so-called *Teuthrania-Anathema*.[22] Although only the fractured bases bearing the inscriptions survive, Adolf Wilhelm determined that they belonged together as an Attalid group.[23] This ensemble included statues of Attalus I and his predecessor Eumenes I together with three Mysian heroes. Schalles observed that the statues were probably arranged in two distinct groups. Given the detailed genealogies, he suggested that the Attalid component likely included a third statue, that of Philetaerus who is referenced in the inscribed lineages of Eumenes I and Attalus I.[24] The three Mysian heroes in the second group are listed as: Midius, son of Gyrnus and Halisarne; Teuthras, son of Midius and Arge; and Phalerus, son of Ib[…] and Rhaistyne, daughter of Selinus, the river god. All of the known figures of this group are eponymous heroes of places in the territory of Pergamon.[25] Selinus, father of Rhaistyne and grandfather of Phalerus, is a tributary of the Caecus that runs along the west side of Pergamon, visible from most of the acropolis.[26] Teuthras is clearly connected with Teuthrania and the Telephus

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20 Paus. 8.4.9.

21 E.g., a lioness rather than a deer suckles infant Telephus; his wife is the Amazon Hiera, rather than Astyoche, daughter of Priam; the omission of his murder of the Aleatides: see Scheer 1993, 138–141, drawing on Bauchhenß-Thüriedl 1971; Dreyfus and Schraudolph 1996.

22 On the *Teuthrania-Anathema*: Wilhelm 1914; Robert 1973; Schalles 1985, 127–135. Scheer 1993, 123: 'In einer Darstellung wie dem Teuthrania-Anathem mag sich bereits der Anspruch der Attaliden formulieren: sowohl die Pergamon umgebende Landschaft, als auch ihre Heroen gehören zu Pergamon, sind eigentlich pergamenisch'.

23 Wilhelm 1914. The figures are respectively: Eumenes I, Attalus I (*IG* XI,4 1107–1108); Midius, Teuthras, and Phalerus (*IG* XI,4 1206–1208).

24 Schalles 1985, 129.

25 Robert 1973. Schalles 1985, 134 n. 772 further suggests the inclusion of the eponymous heroes Caecus and Pergamos in the ensemble.

26 It is interesting to note that as the eponymous hero for Phaleron, the port of Athens,

myth, as discussed above. Midius was similarly identified by Louis Robert as an eponymous hero, and as location he suggested Midapedion, known only from ephebic inscriptions.[27] Halisarne points to Halisarna, a fortification presumably near Teuthrania and tentatively identified by Schuchhardt as Eğrigöl Tepe, the conical hill some 10 km southwest of Pergamon (Figs. 4.3a–b).[28] Gyrnus is a friend of Pergamus, son of Andromache and grandson of Achilles, who left Epirus for Asia Minor to conquer Teuthrania together with Gyrnus. Pergamus founded Pergamon and Gyrnus founded Gryneion, roughly 8 km south of Elaea along the coast.[29] As grandfather of Teuthras, Gyrnus links the myths of Telephus and Pergamus together.[30]

This group is clearly connected with prominent places and natural features in the territory of Pergamon (Fig. 4.1). In his analysis of the genealogy displayed on this monument, Schalles noted that, as Hellenistic kings, the Attalids were unusual in their care not to promote their own ancestry as much as that of the heroes of living places in the landscape.[31] The way in which ruler identity is anchored to territory led him to draw a comparison with the representation of *poleis* and their territories in earlier periods.[32] But the *Teuthrania-Anathema*

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Phalerus can also be connected to water; nothing else, however, points to an Athenian connection here.

27 Robert 1973, 484–485, nn. 24–25, referring to ephebic inscriptions: *AM* 1902, 121, n. 133, line 5, and *IvP* 319 and 320.

28 Halisarna is mentioned with Teuthrania in Xenophon (*Hell.* 3.1.6) as two cities governed by the Greek dynasts Eurysthenes and Procles. The identification was suggested by Schuchhardt 1912, 116–117; Sommerey 2008, 138–139; Pirson 2008, 33. Surface investigations at Eğrigöl Tepe in 2011 support its interpretation as a fortification, whether or not it is indeed Halisarna; see Zimmermann in Pirson 2012c, 215–216.

29 Paus. 1.11.1–2. Pergamus, the son of Andromache and grandson of Achilles, left Epirus for Asia Minor, where he conquered Teuthrania and founded Pergamon; Kosmetatou 1995. Pausanias mentions the tomb of Pergamus and Andromache in Pergamon. The *polis* Gryneion is regularly spelled as ΓΥΡΝΕΙΟΝ on its coinage but as ΓΡΥΝΕΙΟΝ in inscriptions; see also Robert 1973, 481–483, with references in nn. 13–15.

30 Genealogies traced in Schalles 1985, 129, Abb. 13.

31 Schalles 1985, 129: 'im Vordergrund steht dabei die Beziehung auf die Landschaft, nicht auf die Dynastie, die diese Landschaft beherrscht'.

32 Schalles 1985, 135: 'Das pergamenische Königreich wird nicht allein von seinen Herrschern repräsentiert, sondern auch von Ortsheroen und Flußgöttern, gewissermaßen als Substrate des mysischen Stammlandes. Dieser Bezug auf eponyme Ortsgründer scheint sich an älteren Polistraditionen zu orienteren; er vermittelt das *harmonisierende Bild einer Dynastie, die mit ihrem Territorium eine Einheit bildet* [my italics] und in deren Selbstverständnis auch die in ihrem Herrschaftsgebiet befindlichen Städte einen Platz haben'.

should also be seen within its spatiotemporal context at Delos where it competed with other dynastic monuments, such as the *Progonoi* of Antigonus Gonatus.[33] Although the exact location of the monument is unknown, its dedication at this panhellenic sanctuary and nexus of Mediterranean trade routes ensured its publicity. In the face of war with the Gauls and rival kings, it would have been crucial to broadcast the very tight bond between Attalus I and the territory of his kingdom, Mysia, in a political arena with an international audience.

Attalus I valued both myths of Telephus and Pergamus in his consolidation of territory. His successor Eumenes II, however, deliberately selected the Mysian king above the eponymous hero as dynastic link, placing the story of Telephus at the climax of the Great Altar and his reinvention of Pergamon. Scheer argues that a number of factors made the exploits of Telephus especially suitable as charter myth.[34] Pergamon did not have much of a mythology of its own (Pergamus is a rather obscure hero) while Mysia figured prominently in the saga of Telephus, well known thanks to the Athenian tragedians. Also, as a true Greek of royal and divine lineage who was welcomed as ruler of Mysia, Telephus reflected well on the Attalids. Their own somewhat humble origins—Philetaerus was a Paphlagonian with a mother of questionable repute—placed them at a social disadvantage to their rivals who were of royal Macedonian descent. Writing themselves into this prestigious pure Greek myth elevated their status among their peers. As a kind of 'invented tradition',[35] it simultaneously drew attention to the landscape of Mysia.

This last point is especially relevant here considering the deep investment of the Attalids in the territory of their kingdom. The Anatolian character of the Telephus myth has been pointed out by Ann Kuttner in an alternative reading of the monument and its reflection of Attalid ideology.[36] She argues that it is the resonance of the altar with Asiatic (rather than Attic) monumental forms and deities, especially Aphrodite and Cybele, that are important to its understanding. The Telephus myth crowns the altar in a setting more akin to the courtyard of a palace, dominating its landscape—a reading which conforms with Scholl's recent reflection on the altar as representing Zeus' residence at

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33 Courby 1912, discussed in Schalles 1985, 131–132. Also the monument for Philetaerus at Delos, dedicated by Sosicrates in 250 BCE in honor of his own Gallic victories, *IG* XI,4 1105.

34 Scheer 1993, 144–149.

35 Hobsbawm and Ranger 1992.

36 Kuttner 2005, 158, who argues that Philetaerus was already acting like a 'non-Macedonian' dynast.

Olympia.[37] While Kuttner's interpretation of the 'Telephus courtyard' without altar is certainly debatable,[38] she notes that several events depicted in the relief, particularly the battle between Telephus and the Greeks at the Caecus, were situated nearby in the landscape that one could in fact see looking out to the west from the altar, the 'fourth wall' of the frieze as she observes (Fig. 4.2).[39] Also, the frieze is exceptional in its innovative references to nature, possibly drawn from Lycian and Carian art where landscape motifs are more common in reliefs depicting historical events.[40] But given the intimate knowledge of the Mysian landscape, it is tempting to interpret this from a particularly Attalid perspective, the same acute awareness of place that was demonstrated in the *Teuthrania-Anathema*. This is not just any landscape. The flow of imagery and the detail of scenery were surely meant to transpose the viewer back into mythical time, mentally linking Teuthrania to the acropolis at Pergamon.

In either case, the frieze would have spoken clearly to the local population who knew Mysia best. It is interesting to note that the ethnicity of the population of Pergamon, according to the extant epigraphic record, largely appears to have been Mysian, well into the Roman period.[41] Eumenes II's expansion of the urban center in the second century BCE will have heavily drawn its population from the surrounding communities. Eponymous local heroes were incorpo-

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37 Scholl 2011, emphasizing the distinction given to the citizens of Pergamon, who were allowed to ascend the steps of this 'Zeus-palace' to the altar in the Telephus court.

38 Kuttner 2005, 181–182 argues that an altar would have blocked the view of the frieze. But so would the peristyle in Kästner 1996. The best view was surely in passing, scene-by-scene; Froning 1988, 174–177 and Cohen 2001 on the continuous narrative.

39 Kuttner 2005, 190: 'Turning around … the viewer again stood between pendant vistas. This time, the visible landscape made a fourth "wall". It was as if the pictured landscape backgrounds all around crystallized into actuality; indeed, the landscape now at the viewer's back was supposed to be the same valley'.

40 Kuttner 2005, 187–189. My thanks to Ann Kuttner for drawing my attention to the rarity of depictions of nature in Greek sculptural art hitherto; see also Zeitlin 2013. Heres 1996 discusses nature motifs on the Telephus frieze as part of the *mise-en-scène*, with different species of trees—oak, plane, and laurel—indicating locations of action; Carroll-Spillecke 1985, 18–24. The Telephus frieze is now considered the earliest known example of a continuous frieze, once thought to be a Roman innovation; Froning 1988 and Cohen 2001, 98–100 discuss nature as a pictorial device used to connect (not divide) episodes in the life of Telephus.

41 Scheer 1993, 100–102, using the onomastic evidence of Hellenistic epitaphs, the majority of which were non-Greek; Schwyzer 1898 and Fränkel's discussion in *IvP* 205–213.

rated in the phyle system of Pergamon.[42] At the same time, however, it adhered to a Greek-style civic organization. Pergamon may have been populated by an ethnically Mysian community but like many contemporary cities in the Hellenistic era, it generally followed the characteristic principles of the Greek *polis* model, while maintaining a distinctive local identity.[43] It was this identity and sense of pride that the Attalids were investing in, and literally creating through their monuments.

With the *Teuthrania-Anathema* at Delos, Attalus I placed his kingdom and the Mysian landscape on center stage for the Greek world. Back at Pergamon, the Great Altar and the Telephus frieze were more multi-vocal, directed at Greek and Asian audiences but also the local Mysian population. This is the community that would have had intimate knowledge of the landscape and its special places of cult and myth. They would have understood the link with that remarkable hill in plain view in the Caecus valley to the west (Fig. 4.3a).

## 4 The Visual Region of Kalerga Tepe/Teuthrania

Teuthrania occupies a prominent place in the myth of Telephus, but it also occupies a prominent place in the Mysian landscape, as the *Teuthrania-Anathema* already indicates. Xenophon lists Teuthrania among the *poleis* in Mysia, ruled by Procles, and it is known to have produced coinage in the late classical period.[44] It never seems to have been a major urban center in the historical period, and by Pausanias' time it is only remembered as a place of the distant past, a forerunner of Pergamon.[45] For Strabo it was an important historic landmark that he locates along the Caecus (13.1.69):

> Between Elaea, Pitane, Atarneus, and Pergamum lies Teuthrania, which is at no greater distance than seventy stadia from any of them and is this side the Caïcus River; and the story told is that Teuthras was king of the Cilicians and Mysians.
>
> tr. JONES

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42 On the phyle structure and the presumed *sunoikismos* under Eumenes II: Hansen 1971, 187; Sommerey 2008, 141–142; Scheer 1993, 118–119, with references.

43 Pergamon as a *polis*, besides a royal city, is gaining attention. See especially Bielfeldt 2010, Müller 2011, Mathys 2012, and now Pirson and Scholl 2014.

44 Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.6; Sommerey 2008, 146–150. Fourth-century coinage from Teuthrania depicts Procles and Apollo, see Head 1893, 235–236.

45 Paus. 1.11.2.

FIGURES 4.3A–B *View from the 'Temenos of the Rulers' Cult' looking southwest across the Caecus valley. The pine trees to the right mark the platform of the Great Altar. Kalerga Tepe is the round hill left of these; the pointed peak further left is Eğrigöl Tepe. 3a: on a clear morning (April 2012). The Gulf of Pitane is visible in the far distance to the left and the Kane mountains mark the horizon to the right. 3b: on a hazy afternoon (September 2014). Kalerga Tepe now appears to mark the horizon.*

PHOTO CREDITS: AUTHOR

> μεταξὺ δὲ Ἐλαίας τε καὶ Πιτάνης καὶ Ἀταρνέως καὶ Περγάμου Τευθρανία ἐστί, διέχουσα οὐδεμιᾶς αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ ἑβδομήκοντα σταδίους ἐντὸς τοῦ Καΐκου, καὶ ὁ Τεύθρας Κιλίκων καὶ Μυσῶν ἱστόρηται βασιλεύς.[46]

70 stades are roughly 13 km and Strabo's description corresponds well with the location of Kalerga Tepe, as Conze and Thraemer had each independently argued.[47] Pergamon is some 14 km to the northeast, Elaea 12 km to the south, and Atarneus 12.5 km to the west; Pitane is a little farther, at 17 km to the southwest (Fig. 4.4).

Kalerga Tepe is in any case a pivotal feature in the plain of the western Caecus, surrounded on nearly every side by mountains in a bounded space that extends from the coast to the mountains before Pergamon. Nearly 169 m above sea level, it rises sharply above the valley floor and is the highest and most prominent elevation in this triangular plain (Fig. 4.4).[48] The isolation and distinctive shape make it a natural landmark easy to identify from far away. Visible from most of Pergamon, its rounded peak appears to join the cone of Eğrigöl Tepe (suggested as Halisarna)[49] in optically framing the Caecus valley (Figs. 4.3a–b). Kalerga Tepe continues to occupy the view as one travels towards the coast as it is near the neck of the funnel-shaped space that opens onto the western basin (Fig. 4.5). Coming from Elaea in the south, the traveler is greeted by the towering rock face before turning northeast into the narrower valley towards Pergamon (Figs. 4.6, 4.7). There are other remarkable and weird hills in this zone (the cone of Eğrigol Tepe, the crags of Memeli Tepe), yet none possess the same characteristic combination of location, form, and isolation that makes Kalerga Tepe such a riveting point in the landscape.

Although the prominence of Kalerga Tepe in the landscape of the Caecus is regularly noted, scholarly consensus has not always agreed on its identification as the residence of king Teuthras. When the excavations of Friedländer and Pringsheim in 1907 revealed no Bronze Age, or even pre-Attalid, material, Dörpfeld began to argue against Conze and Thraemer's location of Teuthrania. Instead he suggested alternative nearby sites, such as Yeni Yeldeğirmen Tepe, a low rise a couple of kilometers to the west-southwest where extensive quan-

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46 See also Strabo 12.8.2: '… Pergamênê and Elaïtis, where the Caïcus empties into the sea, and Teuthrania, situated between these two countries, where Teuthras lived and where Telephus was reared …' (tr. Jones) (ἡ … Περγαμηνὴ καὶ ἡ Ἐλαΐτις, καθ' ἣν ὁ Κάικος ἐκπίπτει, καὶ ἡ μεταξὺ τούτων Τευθρανία, ἐν ᾗ Τεύθρας καὶ ἡ τοῦ Τηλέφου ἐκτροφή …).

47 A stade is ca. 185 m, Pothecary 1995. Conze 1887 and Thraemer 1888.

48 The prominence of Kalerga Tepe is further assessed in Williamson forthcoming-b.

49 Schuchhardt 1912, 116–117, discussed above.

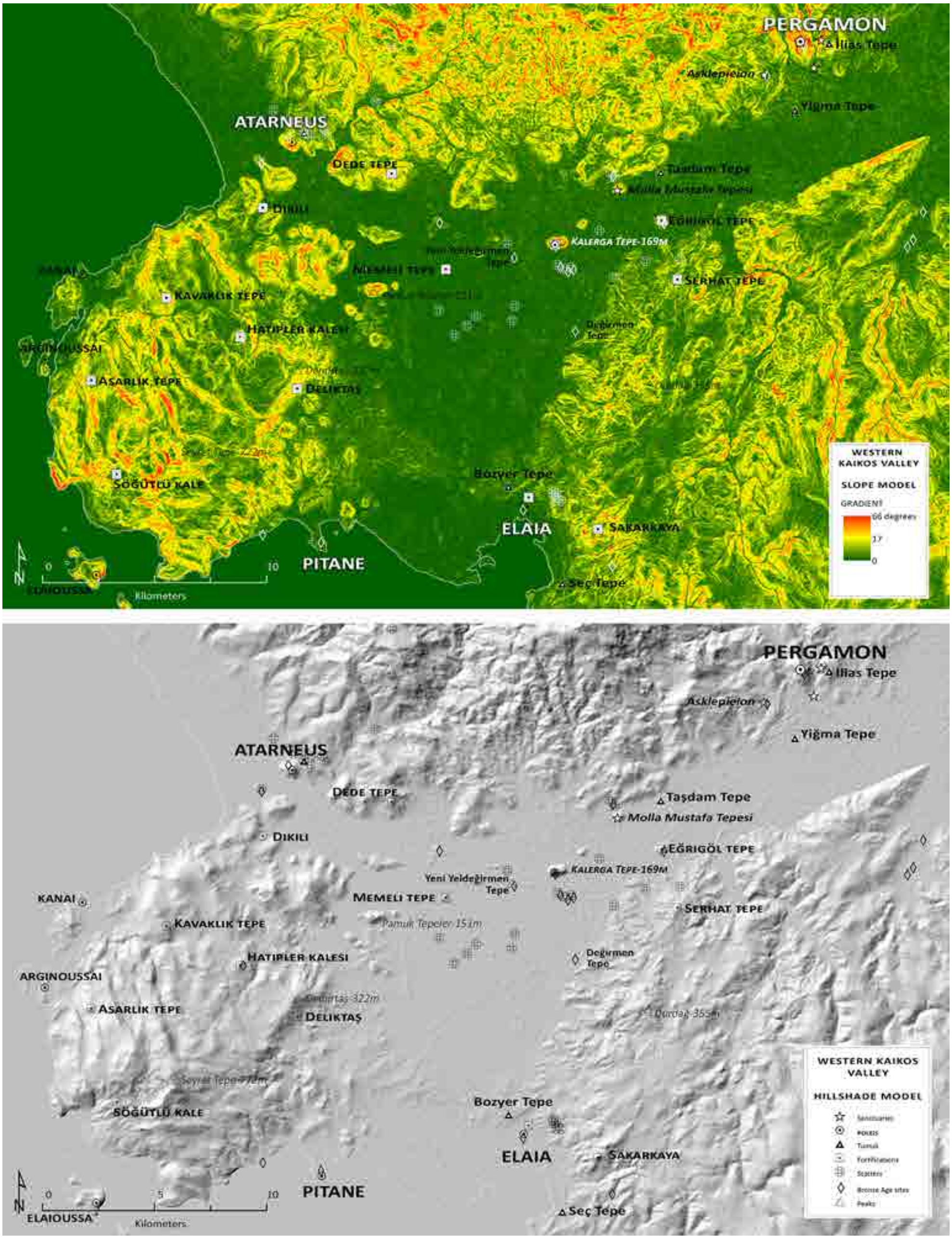


FIGURE 4.4 *Slope and hillshade models of the western Caecus valley. Kalerga Tepe/Teuthrania is the bright red oval shape in the slope model (above), and the large isolated 'bump' in the hillshade model (below).*
MAP CREDIT: AUTHOR

FIGURE 4.5 *View of Kalerga Tepe/Teuthrania from Eğrigöl Tepe, looking west*
PHOTO CREDIT: AUTHOR

FIGURE 4.6 *View of Kalerga Tepe/Teuthrania, in the central section, from the Bozyer Tepe monument near Elaea, looking north with the Geikli Dağ in the background*
PHOTO CREDIT: AUTHOR

tities of Bronze Age ceramics were found.[50] Recent archaeological surveys at Kalerga Tepe have been conducted partly with this question in mind.[51] During these new investigations some Late Bronze Age material was in fact collected

50 Dörpfeld 1910, 394 and Dörpfeld 1928. Grüner forthcoming discusses the various identifications of Teuthrania. This area is included in the prehistoric survey project of the Austrian Academy of Science, directed by Barbara Horejs.

51 Part of the survey of the *khôra* of Pergamon from 2006–2012, directed by Martin Zimmermann.

on top of the mountain, although the highest concentration of the recovered material occurs in the Hellenistic period.[52] More Bronze Age material was collected in the fields around the foot of the hill and it seems plausible that much of the settlement or economic activity took place here.[53] Apart from the brief expeditions in the early twentieth century, however, no systematic excavations have taken place and much remains to be discovered about the site. Nonetheless, given its remarkable location and match with Strabo's description, the data supports an identification of Teuthrania with Kalerga Tepe—at least in later periods.[54] Whether or not this was the seat of Teuthras in the Bronze Age—if in fact such a place existed—it must have seemed fitting for later generations to connect such a legendary site to this natural landmark.

The singular mountain would have been part of the regular environment for some, background to daily tasks, while for others it may largely have been seen in transit. Understanding the scope of such a monumental site as a *visual region* can help interpret its local importance and its role in creating an awareness of place. A visual region may be defined as the collection of places that can be seen all together at the same time.[55] Cognitive studies have shown that features taken in within a single view are intuitively grouped together in the mind, like a snapshot.[56] Because of this, they feel closer by and more like they belong together than places that are beyond view. Colin Ellard describes this process as 'chunking space' or visual 'regionalization'.[57] The bounded space of the western Caecus valley, a low basin surrounded by mountains, provides an interesting visual region that spans a large yet compact area connecting Pergamon to the coast. Because of its enclosure, this visual region can be considered as 'inward-looking' with Kalerga Tepe as optical focus. A good way to study this is through viewshed analyses. Simply stated, a viewshed is the sum of surfaces that are visible from a particular point or collection of points, typically represented as a map generated by a geographical information system (GIS) software routine based on a digital elevation model (DEM). While the resulting viewshed maps are no substitution for personal knowledge and

52 Zimmermann in Pirson 2009, 181; Grüner in Pirson 2013, 117–119.

53 Zimmermann in Pirson 2012c, 216 (sites Teut 902, 903, and 905); Grüner in Pirson 2013, 118 on possible settlement locations at Kalerga Tepe.

54 See Grüner in Pirson 2013, 119.

55 Developed in more detail in Williamson 2012, 55–61.

56 See esp. Tversky 1993 on cognitive 'collages', rather than 'maps', as metaphor for spatial memory.

57 Ellard 2009, 126–128.

FIGURE 4.7 *View of Kalerga Tepe/Teuthrania from the southwest. Pergamon is visible in the distance to the right.*
PHOTO CREDIT: AUTHOR

experience of a place, they are nonetheless useful as tools in assessing the characteristics and patterns of a visual region.[58]

Figure 4.8 is a map of the area of visibility, or *viewshed*, from Kalerga Tepe, based on satellite data as DEM.[59] Kalerga Tepe is elongated from east to west, with two peaks. GPS coordinates were recorded in the field at several points along the top and sides of Kalerga Tepe. These were combined to produce a cumulative viewshed that assesses the extent of the area visible from the hill as a whole, not just a single point, but also the areas that contain Kalerga Tepe in their view. In this respect, the viewshed is presumed to be reciprocal.[60] This model is moreover generated as a 'Higuchi' viewshed; Tadahiko Higuchi distinguished three ranges of visual acuity based on the tree as the object of

58 For a recent overview, see Wheatley 2014; also Chapman 2006, esp. 101ff. Llobera 2003 on 'visualscapes', and Llobera 2007. On viewshed accuracy, 'probable' and 'fuzzy' viewsheds, Fisher 1994, Ogburn 2006. The viewsheds depicted here were specifically 'ground-truthed' during field visits from 16.09–11.10.2014.

59 The maps presented here are based on ASTER DEM (30 m resolution) and were projected in ED 1950 3-degree Gauss-Kruger Zone 9 using ArcGIS 10.2.2, with an observer offset height of 1.6 m unless otherwise noted.

60 This of course need not always be the case. But given the macro-scale of the features here studied, e.g., hills and settlements, this assumption seems warranted. On reciprocity in viewsheds, Wheatley and Gillings 2002, 210–212 with references.

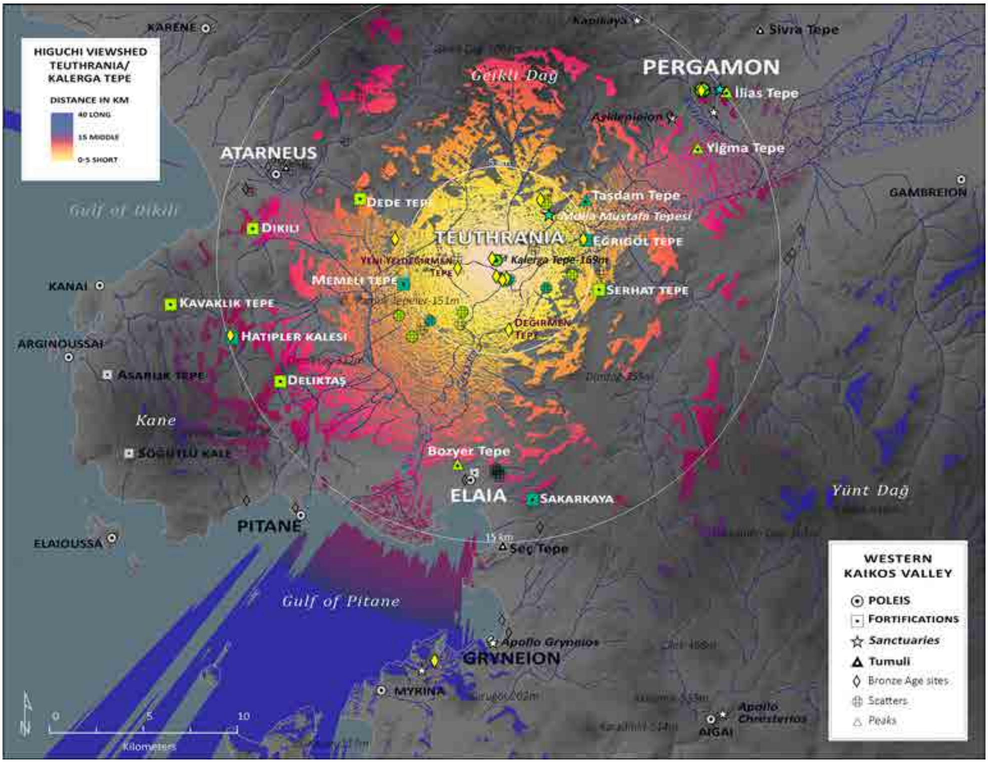


FIGURE 4.8 *'Higuchi' viewshed of Kalerga Tepe/Teuthrania. Visible features are highlighted: bright green indicates sites with little or no pre-Hellenistic material; dark green for sites with longer chronology; yellow lozenges for Bronze Age sites.*
MAP CREDIT: AUTHOR

viewing and the degree of visible detail: the short-distance range in which individual leaves can be discerned; the medium-distance range, where trees appear as clumps; and the long-distance range where they blend in with the bluish background.[61] The magnitude of the visibility analyses conducted here concerns topographical features such as hills and archaeological sites so that atmospheric condition is the primary factor in visual detection. From Pergamon, for example, the area near Elaea and especially the sea, can only be seen on very clear days (Fig. 4.3a), while Kalerga Tepe, and the area just beyond, is almost always within view (Fig. 4.3b). A transgression from the medium to long-distance range is set at 15 km for this landscape. In the short-distance range, up

61 Higuchi 1983, 12–17: Wheatley and Gillings 2000; also Ogburn 2006 and Llobera 2007.

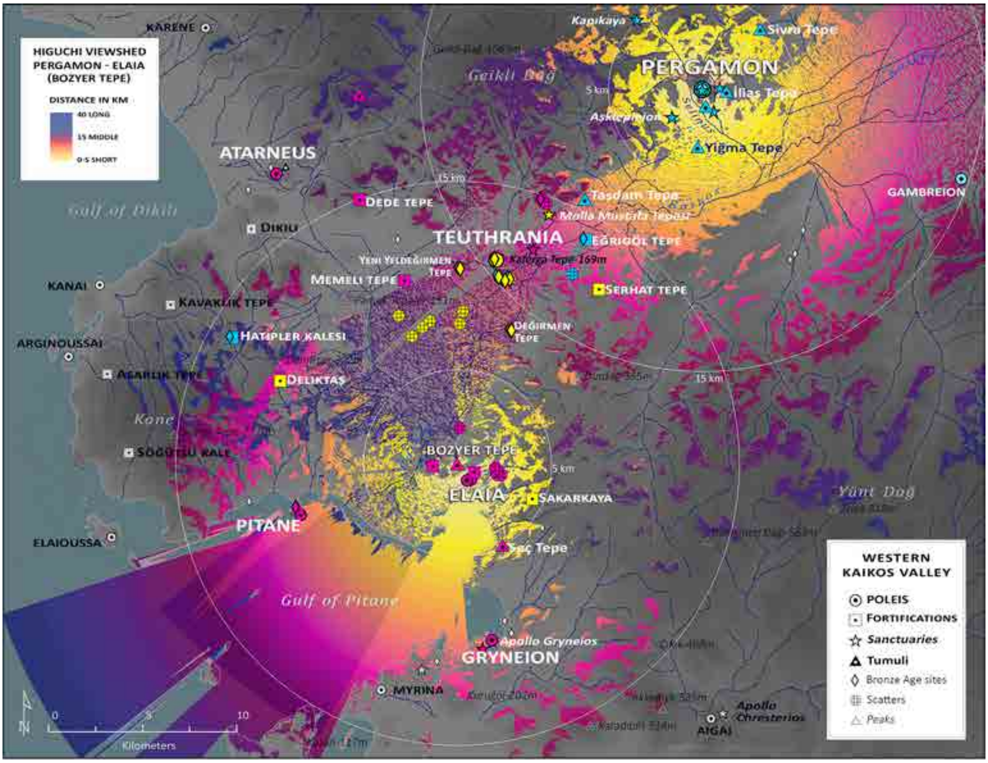


FIGURE 4.9 *'Higuchi' viewsheds of Pergamon and Elaea (calculated from the Bozyer Tepe monument). Features visible from Pergamon are in blue, from Bozyer Tepe in fuchsia; from both in yellow.*
MAP CREDIT: AUTHOR

to 5 km, architecture can still be discerned. These are not hard boundaries and so are rendered with gradual shading stretching from yellow (short distance) to magenta-red (medium distance) to purple (long distance).[62]

Given the height and isolation of the peak, it is not surprising that the viewshed of Kalerga Tepe saturates much of the inner basin of the western Caecus. Many of the sites investigated during the surveys fall within this viewshed and are highlighted in Fig. 4.8. Most contain minor settlements, including Kalerga Tepe itself. Molla Mustafa Tepesi is the only site also identified as a sanctuary, with terracottas of Cybele and traces of architecture found near the top and

62 The viewsheds were calculated with a maximum extent of 40 km. See also Ludwig 2014, 75, who applies the distance intervals at 5, 15, 25, and 35 km in analyzing the visibility of the rock-cut niches on the slopes of Pergamon.

along the western side.[63] Several smaller sites consist of ceramic scatters and their function has yet to be determined, although given the fertility of the plain, many were likely associated with farms or satellite communities.[64] Some are Bronze Age, while others (in dark green) can be dated to the Iron Age or classical periods. Six scatters (in light green) contained no pre-Attalid material and appear to have been new endeavors in the Hellenistic period. It is worth noting that these largely occur in the short-distance range, or at least within 6 km, so that Kalerga Tepe would have formed the backdrop. Moreover, a number are located to the southwest where there is also a good view of Pergamon in the distance (Figs. 4.7, 4.9).

Several major tumuli in this landscape also fall within the viewshed of Kalerga Tepe. This includes İlias Tepe and Yiğma Tepe east and south of Pergamon, respectively, and Taşdam Tepe, a late classical tomb on a low hill between Kalerga Tepe and Pergamon. There is good intervisibility with the monumental cenotaph on the Bozyer Tepe ridge northwest of Elaea (Figs. 4.6, 4.9), although Elaea itself is not within view.[65] Nor is any other *polis* except for Pergamon. Most of these are along the coast and are cut off from the central valley by hills. There is, however, a good view of the Gulf of Pitane to the south beyond the bay of Elaea.

Kalerga Tepe was a visual hub in the web of defense in the western Caecus basin. Many of the fortified sites were new, connected to the rise and expansion of Attalid power.[66] Some, such as Hatipler Kalesi, had been hilltop settlements that had fallen into decline by the second century BCE as the focus shifted to Pergamon, their strategic locations still used for defense purposes.[67] Major fortifications include Sakarkaya, on the summit southeast of Elaea with a panorama that encompasses much of the western Caecus, and Dede Tepe, on the opposite northwest side of the plain in the foothills of the Geikli Dağ. To the east, Serhat Tepe and Eğrigöl Tepe guarded the narrow part of the plain lead-

63 For recent reports with further references, see for Kalerga Tepe, Grüner in Pirson 2013, 117–119; for Eğrigöl Tepe, Zimmermann in Pirson 2012c, 215–216, Abb. 43. The shrine for Meter/Cybele at Molla Mustafa Tepesi was discovered and surveyed in 2009, see Zimmermann in Pirson 2010, 176–177, Pirson 2011, 159, and Pirson 2012c, 216; rescue excavations were conducted in 2012, see Pirson 2013, 131–133, Abb. 52–54.

64 Zimmermann in Pirson 2010, 177–180.

65 Williamson forthcoming-a.

66 Pirson 2012b, 225–229; Williamson forthcoming-b.

67 On Atarneus: Zimmermann in Pirson 2011, 150–154 and Pirson 2012c, 209–211, with further references. Hatipler Kalesi: Matthaei in Pirson 2013, 119–121, Abb. 40, and Zimmermann in Pirson 2011, 154–158, Abb. 83.

ing to Pergamon. These positions protected the roads connecting Pergamon with the coasts near Atarneus and Dikili in the west, and Pitane and Elaea in the south.[68] They give an impression of the altering views and experiences that travelers—merchants, embassies, militant or enemy troops—would have had en route to Pergamon. Arriving via the coastal *poleis*, travelers would have followed the chain of mountains on one side with the open plain of the Caecus on the other. Kalerga Tepe/Teuthrania is visible as soon as one crosses the ridges that separate the coast from the plain (Fig. 4.6). Continuing on, one proceeds to the narrowing area of the plain where the prominent mountain sits and where the western and southern routes converge—all the while it looms larger until one finally passes it, at which point Pergamon itself comes into view (Fig. 4.7).

Kalerga Tepe's visual region thus included not only the geographical extent of the western Caecus valley, but also nearly all of the cultural features in this area, encompassing the strategic fortifications and the roads which they would have watched over. The significance of this is clear when compared with the visual regions of Pergamon and its principle harbor, Elaea (Fig. 4.9). On a higher peak (329 m above sea level), Pergamon has a tremendous reach that extends far into the Caecus valley to the east, but transects only the central part of the western Caecus region, although some fortifications and ceramic scatters are within its viewshed. Elaea is structurally blocked from the Caecus area by the Bozyer Tepe ridge; the town in fact faces the opposite direction, overlooking the bay and the Gulf of Pitane. However, the tumulus constructed on top of the Bozyer Tepe affords the best view to the north and is taken here as the viewpoint for the viewshed shown in Fig. 4.9.[69] Yet even from this optimal point only segments of the Caecus valley are visible, the rest is blocked by hills. Few of the ceramic scatters in the Caecus valley fall within its visual region, although some of the fortifications and probably large stretches of the eastern road would have been visible.

While the visual regions of Pergamon and Elaea in fact complement each other relatively well, only a handful of cultural features can be seen from both places, especially in the middle-distance range: Kalerga Tepe; Serhat Tepe, along the southern border of the valley; and Molla Mustafa Tepesi, on the opposite side, with the shrine of Meter.[70] Kalerga Tepe is the only Bronze Age

68 Pirson 2012b, 225–229.

69 The Bozyer Tepe viewshed applies an observer offset of 5 m (rather than 1.6 m) to allow for some visibility of the original tumulus, estimated at ca. 10 m; Feuser and Sarıoğlu in Pirson 2010, 202–208, and Williamson forthcoming-a.

70 On Serhat Tepe, Zimmermann in Pirson 2012c, 213–214 and Pirson 2013, 121–123. Molla Mustafa Tepesi is discussed above.

site to fall within this category. Yeni Yeldeğirmen Tepe and Değirmen Tepe, however, are nearby albeit a bit closer to Elaea. As mentioned above, Yeni Yeldeğirmen Tepe was Dörpfeld's alternative candidate for Teuthrania because of its high density of Bronze Age material.[71] Değirmen Tepe, just east of the Caecus, is somewhat similar.[72] Both sites are situated on low mounds that are well ventilated (*değirmen* is Turkish for 'mill' or 'windmill'), in fertile areas, and near water, but are otherwise wholly unremarkable in the landscape, certainly in comparison with Kalerga Tepe (Fig. 4.4).

A true landmark, Kalerga Tepe functions as a hinge connecting the visual regions of Pergamon and Elaea. There is certainly some overlap of visibility, but most of this falls in the long-distance range, meaning a low degree of perception in good weather and none at all on hazy or stormy days. Kalerga Tepe, on the other hand, sits exactly in the middle-distance zone between the two poles. Its distinctive shape is visible almost all the time from either place, either against the background of blue mountains on clear days or as a horizon of its own on hazy days (Figs. 4.3a–b). At the same time it attracted the focus from areas in the western Caecus valley that were otherwise beyond view of both *poleis*. In the logic of geopolitics, it made perfect sense to turn this visual anchor into a mythical *Vorgängerburg*, a physical and symbolic precursor of Pergamon.

## 5 Foregrounding Teuthrania and the Perception of Territory

By promoting the myths of Teuthras and Telephus, Attalus I and Eumenes II would have raised awareness of this natural landmark, drawing it within the scope of Attalid monuments. The association may even have been incorporated in the orientation of the Great Altar (Fig. 4.2).[73] In any event, the prominent peak was surely used not only to connect the spaces of Pergamon and Elaea in the western Caecus valley, but also to create a symbolic focal point that stood out in the mind's eye of everyone familiar with the territory. As such it could

71 Dörpfeld 1910, 394.

72 On both sites see Horejs in Pirson 2011, 146–150, Pirson 2012c, 204–208, and Pirson 2013, 109–117.

73 The northeast and southwest corners of the altar form a diagonal axis that crosses the Asclepieum and Molla Mustafa Tepesi, extending to the east top of Kalerga Tepe. This is a consequence of the very slight orientation of the altar to the east-southeast, which also creates an alignment of the west face with the western flank of the temple of Athena higher up on the acropolis, Radt 1999, 167 (Abb. 114) and 170.

weave together memory, past, and present while defining its spatial context. Anthropologist Eric Hirsch identified the concepts of *foreground* and *background* as two poles of a fundamental tension that determines one's perception of the physical environment.[74] Features that are *foregrounded* are well-known places that are mentally prominent due to their familiarity. They are also places of tradition, often ritualized by routine, whether religious or mundane. By contrast, *background* space is less known and unpredictable. Background space is 'modern', with places of the future, full of potential, where anything could happen. I suggest that they are also areas of risk that can be activated or controlled by associating them with foreground places, thereby bringing the 'outside' 'inside'. Distance is implicit in Hirsch's categories as foregrounded places are typically near while backgrounded space is further away, often on the horizon.[75]

Spatial memory is complex and involves several factors that can significantly affect the sense of distance and depth. People tend to remember foregrounded places with much more accuracy than background space. Returning to the concept of visual regions, Tversky observed the tightness of features that can be seen together, but she also observed that visible features feel closer than those out of sight. Moreover, she notes that 'people judge the distance from an ordinary building to a landmark to be smaller than from a landmark to an ordinary building'.[76] Like looking through a zoom lens, viewing such foregrounded spaces collapses distance, warping Cartesian space. Such perceptions are nonetheless realistic as they represent the experience of a certain space. This touches on Tobler's first law of geography: 'everything is related to everything else, but near things are more related than distant things'.[77] In light of the above, I suggest a slight revision: things that *seem near* are more related than distant things.

So foregrounded places can feel near without actually being near. Speaking of the ability of a painter to visually wander through a landscape, Merleau-Ponty observes that 'to see is *to have at a distance*' [his italics].[78] This remote kind of possession depends on experience and knowledge, structured by movement and memory. While this pertains to personal memory, it also affects col-

74 Hirsch 1995, esp. 4–5, 22–23; in his view of landscape as cultural process, Hirsch draws on Sauer 1925 and Ingold 1993. Also Tuan 1977; Lefebvre 1991; Casey 1996.

75 Hirsch 1995, 12.

76 Tversky 1993, 18, drawing from Sadalla et al. 1980 on 'reference points'.

77 Tobler 1970.

78 Merleau-Ponty 1964, 166; Willerslev 2007. Vision is only part of the sensorial system for perception, Ingold 2012, but is the most effective over long distances, Wheatley 2014.

lective memory via public places, like shrines or commercial centers, and especially monuments as agents of social memory.[79] As *lieux de mémoire*, they are spatio-mnemonic linchpins, tying select events from the past to select physical locations in the present.[80] At the same time they are catalysts of communication, triggering thoughts and emotions that are shared.[81] This is intrinsic to their power to evoke a sense of community and territory. This is what the Attalids were tapping when they appropriated the myth of Telephus and its native link with Teuthrania.

The identification of Teuthrania with Kalerga Tepe has a number of implications regarding the perception of Pergamene territory. Considering the special capacity of monuments as foregrounded places to compress space brings us to a reconsideration of visual regions and especially the distinction of the middle-distance range, as in the 'Higuchi' viewsheds of Figs. 4.8 and 4.9. Kalerga Tepe was shown above to be in the middle-distance ranges of both Pergamon and Elaea. Bordering their visual regions and almost always within view, it is a magnet of the gaze with a gravity that pulls the cities closer towards each other. The background space, especially those areas beyond view of either Pergamon or Elaea, would have felt more manageable as they were now also connected. Also, Kalerga Tepe's location near the convergence of the two coastal routes means that travelers in various directions would have had a long time to gaze at the mountain. Knowing the story would have made the journey seem shorter as it referenced the capital city. Those arriving from Greece may even have imagined themselves 're-enacting' the heroic journey of Auge and Telephus as they fled Arcadia to Mysia, to finally arrive in Pergamon.[82]

Kalerga Tepe was a natural monument in need of a myth. Its interpretation as the mountain of Teuthras, known from the Trojan stories, may very well stem from later periods, as Grüner suggests.[83] Whether it actually was a major site in the Bronze Age is irrelevant. Mapping the Telephus myth onto this landmark would have enhanced the appeal of Mysia, even before the Attalids. The peak of Hellenistic material at the site may well reflect the impetus from Pergamon. In

79 Halbwachs 1992, 200: 'If a truth is to be settled in the memory of a group it needs to be presented in the concrete form of an event, of a personality, or of a locality'; also Alcock 2002, 25.

80 Nora 1984–1992.

81 Basso 1996, 56.

82 Paus. 1.4.6 on the Pergamenes: 'they claim that they are themselves Arcadians, being of those who crossed into Asia with Telephus' (tr. Jones) (αὐτοὶ δὲ Ἀρκάδες ἐθέλουσιν εἶναι τῶν ὁμοῦ Τηλέφῳ διαβάντων ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν).

83 Grüner in Pirson 2013, 119.

foregrounding Kalerga Tepe, more and more people would have regarded this mountain and the visual region it commanded in light of Pergamene territory. Simultaneously it created a magnifier for the *Residenzstadt*, extending its reach into all of the areas within view of Teuthrania and making the power of the Attalids feel that much closer to the coast. When one saw Teuthrania, one would already imagine Pergamon.

## 6 Conclusion—Mythical Landscapes and Political Territories

The political significance of the mythical landscape may be seen through the conscious choice of the Attalids, especially Attalus I and Eumenes II, to create a link to the myth of Telephus. A number of factors were involved in this choice. Scheer pointed out that this prestigious Hellenic saga enhanced the self-representation of the Attalids among their rivals. Kuttner, on the other hand, emphasized the Asiatic elements of the myth as an expression of Anatolian identity. In my view, there is another, more local factor that must have weighed at least as heavy as these supra-regional connotations—the prominence of the Teuthrania in the landscape of Mysia. Assuming this was Kalerga Tepe then it was the most conspicuous mountain in the landscape of the western Caecus, visible from afar due to its relative isolation yet in a highly public area where traffic converged, as it does today. Teuthrania is not only (roughly) equidistant from Pergamon and its naval base at Elaea, but also precisely intersects their visual regions. Besides its implications for Attalid identity, reviving this myth through the *Teuthrania-Anathema* and the Telephus frieze on the Great Altar laid an overt claim to this natural landmark in this very strategic location in Mysia. The perceived antiquity was instrumental to the rising state in its expression of authority, and hence in the organization of the immediate environment, with its communities, local economies, and arteries of access. Teuthrania became a symbolic focus in the landscape, a linchpin connecting vital spaces and pulling them closer together and, more significantly, closer to Pergamon. For the Attalids, the mythological landscape of Teuthras had real geopolitical value in its capacity to create a new sense of territory common to Mysia that at the same time appeared to be rooted in the past.[84]

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84 I would like to thank the organizers of the Penn-Leiden Colloquium for their valuable insights, also Ann Kuttner. I am grateful to Felix Pirson and the anonymous reviewer for their helpful comments on a previous version of this paper. This research is supported by a

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# PART 2

## *Underground and Underworld*

CHAPTER 5

# Diving Underground: Giving Meaning to Subterranean Rivers

*Julie Baleriaux*

## 1 Introduction

In northern Arcadia, on the dark and snowy Aroania mountain range (now Mount Helmos), there is a place that needs to be carefully avoided by shepherds. If goats get lost near the limpid, ice-cold waterfall drizzling from the 600 ft-high cliff and drink from its waters, they unavoidably die. These dangerous waters, Pausanias says, are no other than those of the Styx (8.17.8).[1]

It may seem strange to have an infernal river flow in the realm of mortals; yet the Styx is not the only one. The Acheron and the Cocytus, for instance, although they flow in the world of the dead, are also visible in different parts of the Greek world. This apparent discrepancy does not seem to cause any problem for the Greeks, nor are they bothered by reports of the existence of several Acherusian lakes in the Greek world.

This chapter aims to explore such apparent inconsistencies further by looking at what could have prompted close contacts between the realm of the dead, where infernal rivers are supposed to flow, and the world of the living, where they are reported flowing. I argue that the picture of Hades and Tartarus—which together compose the realm of the dead—as wet places crossed by streams of water emerged from the observation of a very common natural phenomenon in Greece: karstic, or subterranean rivers. A great part of Greece rests on limestone bedrock that can be weathered and carved by water.[2] Because of this, many Greek rivers have sections of their course underground: this means that after flowing on the surface for a while, the water dives into the ground through a natural hole called a swallow-hole or sinkhole. It continues flowing there until the river comes back up, often in the shape of a spring. I shall explore to what extent the observation of subterranean rivers by ancient Greeks con-

1 See descriptions in Hes. *Theog.* 775 f., Hdt. 6.74.1, Str. 8.8.4, Paus. 8.17.6–8, Ael. *NA* 10.40, Apul. *Met.* 6.14. For a contemporary description of the stream, see Brewster 1997, 69.

2 Higgins and Higgins 1996, 13 f.

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tributed to the elaboration of a picture of the unseen world, and in particular inspired the conception of the world of the dead as a region ringed and circumscribed by waters.

## 2 Empirical Observation of Subterranean Rivers in Greece

Subterranean rivers are the symptom of a wider geological setting called karst. Karst is defined as an area of limestone terrain with surface openings, blind valleys, and underground drainage channels. It is easily recognizable by the porous limestone stones that are found on the surface, the vast number of caves that are scattered over the landscape, and the presence of subterranean streams. This geological setting was widely distributed across the ancient Greek world, both in continental Greece and on the islands of Crete and in the Aegean.[3] This geological layout is for instance found in most of the Peloponnese as well as in Corinthia, in Boeotia, in Epirus, and in Macedonia.

Due to the ubiquity of this type of terrain and its impact on water distribution, the ancient Greeks had to find strategies to deal with it appropriately. Our first evidence for a conscious interaction with the phenomenon dates from the Bronze Age. Karstic formations provoked drainage issues and regular destructive floods, and we have evidence that they caused problems for the populations living in these areas. Hence the large-scale drainage works carried out in Tiryns, Lerna, the Copais basin, Stymphalus, or the Pheneus valley demonstrate that the Bronze Age occupants of Greece had to deal with the ups and downs of living in a karstic environment, and therefore were familiar with subterranean rivers.[4] Subsequently, Crouch argues, the Greeks had learned to master karstic landscapes so well that between the eighth and fourth centuries BCE, the colonies sent out by cities consciously sought to settle in similar rock formations. Hence they ended up in Sicily, southern Italy and southern Turkey, where such karst phenomena were significant.[5]

In literature, we also find conscious attempts to understand the karstic phenomenon, which leaves us with important testimonies about the existence of subterranean rivers. For instance, we have reports of experiments carried

3 Higgins and Higgins 1996, 13 f.; Fouache and Quantin 1999, 50 f.; Crouch 1993, 64, 67 f. and Fig. 7.1.

4 Knauss 1990, 40–49. In many of these cases, the works were later attributed to Heracles; Salowey 1994 dates this process after the Dark Ages, when the memory of the Bronze Age works and the engineering technology that allowed the works to be carried out disappeared.

5 Crouch 1993, esp. 66 f.

out by the Greeks interested in geology in order to test where subterranean streams would come back up. Throwing an object in the river, such as a cup or a pinecone, and observing where the object would reappear, was one way of testing it.[6] In other cases, we have descriptions of the peculiar course of certain rivers. For instance, Herodotus (6.76.1) describes how the water drained from the Stymphalian lake through a chasm fed the Erasinus river in Argolis:[7]

> As Cleomenes was seeking divination at Delphi, the oracle responded that he would take Argos. When he came with Spartans to the river Erasinus, which is said to flow from the Stymphalian lake (this lake issues into a cleft out of sight and reappears at Argos, and from that place onwards the stream is called by the Argives Erasinus)—when Cleomenes came to this river he offered sacrifices to it.
>
> tr. GODLEY

> Κλεομένεϊ γὰρ μαντευομένῳ ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐχρήσθη Ἄργος αἱρήσειν. ἐπείτε δὲ Σπαρτιήτας ἄγων ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Ἐρασῖνον, ὃς λέγεται ῥέειν ἐκ τῆς Στυμφηλίδος λίμνης (τὴν γὰρ δὴ λίμνην ταύτην ἐς χάσμα ἀφανὲς ἐκδιδοῦσαν ἀναφαίνεσθαι ἐν Ἄργεϊ, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ ἤδη τοῦτο ὑπ᾽ Ἀργείων Ἐρασῖνον καλέεσθαι), ἀπικόμενος ὦν ὁ Κλεομένης ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τοῦτον ἐσφαγιάζετο αὐτῷ.

Another famous case is the Alpheius. Its extravagant course caused ancient authors to amplify its journey and make it cross the sea from Greece to the east coast of Sicily, where its waters were said to meet with the spring Arethusa. Pausanias (8.54.2–3) gives a very detailed account of its wonderful journey:

> It is known that the Alpheius differs from other rivers in exhibiting this natural peculiarity; it often disappears beneath the earth to reappear again. So flowing on from Phylace and the place called Symbola it sinks into the Tegean plain; rising at Asea, and mingling its stream with the Eurotas, it sinks again into the earth. Coming up at the place called by the Arcadians Pegae, and flowing past the land of Pisa and past Olympia, it falls into the sea above Cyllene, the port of Elis. Not even the Adriatic

6 For instance, Str. 6.2.4 (in the Alpheius) and Paus. 2.24.6 (in the Stymphalian lake outlet).

7 See also Eratosth. fr. 140 Roller in Str. 8.8.4; Str. 8.6.8; Diod. Sic. 15.49; Paus. 2.22.3, 2.24, and 8.22.

> could check its flowing onwards, but passing through it, so large and stormy a sea, it shows in Ortygia, before Syracuse, that it is the Alpheius, and unites its water with Arethusa.
>
> tr. JONES-ORMEROD

> φαίνεται δὲ ὁ Ἀλφειὸς παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ποταμοὺς φύσιν τινὰ ἰδίαν παρεχόμενος τοιάνδε· ἀφανίζεσθαί τε γὰρ κατὰ γῆς ἐθέλει πολλάκις καὶ αὖθις ἀναφαίνεσθαι. προελθὼν μέν γε ἐκ Φυλάκης καὶ τῶν καλουμένων Συμβόλων ἐς τὸ πεδίον κατέδυ τὸ Τεγεατικόν· ἀνατείλας δὲ ἐν Ἀσέᾳ καὶ τὸ ῥεῦμα ἀναμίξας τῷ Εὐρώτᾳ τὸ δεύτερον ἤδη κάτεισιν ἐς τὴν γῆν· ἀνασχὼν δὲ ἔνθα Πηγὰς ὀνομάζουσιν οἱ Ἀρκάδες καὶ παρὰ γῆν τε τὴν Πισαίαν καὶ παρὰ Ὀλυμπίαν ἐξελθών, ἐκδίδωσιν ὑπὲρ Κυλλήνης ἐπινείου τοῦ Ἠλείων ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν. ἔμελλε δὲ ἄρα μηδὲ Ἀδρίας ἐπισχήσειν αὐτὸν τοῦ πρόσω· διανηξάμενος δὲ καὶ τοῦτον, μέγα οὕτω καὶ βίαιον πέλαγος, ἐν Ὀρτυγίᾳ τῇ πρὸ Συρακουσῶν ἐπιδείκνυσιν Ἀλφειός τε ὢν καὶ πρὸς Ἀρέθουσαν τὸ ὕδωρ ἀνακοινούμενος.

In fact, the extraordinarily long and complicated journey of the Alpheius was common knowledge long before Pausanias. For instance, Pindar (*Nem.* 1.1) already makes the river god Alpheius reappear at Ortygia in Syracuse. Vergil (*Aen.* 3.692–697) and Ovid (*Met.* 5.487 f., 572 f.) attribute the diving of the Alpheius to his lust for the Nymph Arethusa, who changes into a spring at Ortygia to escape his unwanted love. Alpheius chases her there, and their waters are mingled forever.

There are many more testimonies in our sources recording comparably wonderful journeys of rivers. Rivers could meet in chasms and spring out of the earth kilometers away while keeping their waters separate, as was said to be the case for the Alpheius and the Eurotas.[8] The waters of a lake could give birth to a river far away. For instance, the Cephisus river in Boeotia was fed by the waters of lake Copais, and then flowed through a sinkhole to Locris (Str. 9.2.18).

Some of these connections have now been confirmed by studies in geology.[9] But in other cases, the connections are completely fictitious. In fact, subterranean rivers were so common that they became part of Greek lore, and authors tended to see subterranean streams in places where they do not actually exist.[10]

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8 Paus. 8.44.4. See Pritchett 1965, 122–130.

9 Erasinus originating in the Stymphalian lake: Pritchett 1965, 122–123 and 132; for a different view, see Higgins and Higgins 1996, 46 and 49. Ladon river reappearing in Olympia: Higgins and Higgins 1996, 70. See also Kroonenberg 2013, 93–107.

10 Ustinova 2009, 32.

For instance, Sophocles made the Inachus originate in the Pindus mountains, while the fourth-century rhetorician Zoïlus claimed that the Alpheius rose in Tenedos.[11] Pliny described how the spring of the Tigris river in Mesopotamia is fed underground by lake Thopitis, whereas no actual connection is attested.[12] The belief that subterranean streams were ubiquitous and could hide underground for very long distances led to even more fantastical claims, which were still broadly accepted as true. For instance, King Juba II of Mauretania claimed that the Nile originated in the Mauretanian mountains, and then traveled underground for more than twenty days before reaching Upper Egypt and flowing on the surface.[13] This was so persuasive a statement that travelers looked for the sources of the Nile in northwestern Africa until the nineteenth century.[14]

These few examples show how ancient geographers were aware of underground rivers as a common, widespread phenomenon. Subterranean rivers with fantastically long courses were largely accepted in the ancient Mediterranean world, even if authors like Strabo (6.2.4) tried to rationalize these near-myths. In any case, it matters little for our purpose whether accounts of underground rivers reflect an actual natural wonder or are just pure imagination. The fact that these stories were perfectly acceptable for an ancient Greek audience—and, in fact, up to very recently—is significant in itself.

## 3 Rationalizing Subterranean Rivers

The commonness of subterranean rivers prompted observers to formulate different hypotheses as to *why* rivers thus disappeared into the ground to reappear further away. Two types of causality are described in ancient sources: one is divine, the other geological.

The earliest is provided chiefly by poets, and naturally involves divine intervention. Different reasons can lead divine beings to create underground watercourses. In some cases, as for the Alpheius river mentioned above, it is the desire of a river god that leads him to dive underground to find his loved one.[15] In other cases, a stream buried underground bears the mark of a divine punishment. For instance, the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (3.244 f.) attributes the origin

11 Both quoted by Str. 6.2.4.

12 Plin. *HN* 5.51–54.

13 Amm. Marc. 22.15.8.

14 Roller 2010, 190. Eratosthenes also describes in an unclear passage how water flowing in Koile Syria might originate from as far away as Arabian lakes: Eratosth. fr. 96 Roller.

15 Verg. *Aen.* 3.692–697; Ov. *Met.* 5.487 f., 572 f.

of the underground spring Tilphousa in Boeotia to Apollo's anger, who buried the spring to punish the trickery of its Nymph.

Yet at some point the gods' anger was not a sufficient reason anymore to explain why rivers dived into chasms. In the Roman period, authors tried to provide a 'scientific' cause for rivers to have an underground course. Diodorus Siculus (15.49.5) states that 'the Peloponnese has beneath its surface huge caverns and great underground accumulations of flowing water' (tr. Sherman) (τὴν Πελοπόννησον κατὰ βάθους ἔχειν μεγάλα κοιλώματα καὶ συστάσεις ὑδάτων ναματιαίων μεγάλας). Based on the same concept, Strabo (9.2.16) argues that earthquakes shake the geological layout of the underground and thus provoke streams to flow on and under the surface:

> But since the depths of the earth are full of caverns and holes, it has often happened that violent earthquakes have blocked up some of the passages, and also opened up others, some up to the surface of the earth and others through underground channels. The result for the waters, therefore, is that some of the streams flow through underground channels, whereas others flow on the surface of the earth, thus forming lakes and rivers.
>
> tr. JONES

> ὑπάντρου δὲ καὶ σηραγγώδους οὔσης κατὰ βάθους τῆς γῆς, σεισμοὶ γενόμενοι πολλάκις ἐξαίσιοι τοὺς μὲν ἔφραξαν τῶν πόρων τοὺς δὲ ἀνέῳξαν, τοὺς μὲν μέχρι τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοὺς δὲ δι' ὑπονόμων· συμβαίνει δὴ καὶ τοῖς ὕδασι τοῖς μὲν δι' ὑπονόμων φέρεσθαι τῶν ῥείθρων τοῖς δ' ἐπιπολῆς, τοῖς τε λιμναίοις καὶ τοῖς ποταμίοις.

On the other hand, Seneca (*QNat.* 3.9) invokes the condensation of underground cold air into water in those subterranean caves as the cause for subterranean rivers:

> Others favor this explanation: they say the earth has within itself deep cavities and a great quantity of air which is of course cold because compressed by the thick darkness; then the inert and uncirculating air ceases to maintain itself and changes into water. Just as above the earth a change in the atmosphere makes rain, so beneath the earth it makes a river or a stream.
>
> tr. CORCORAN

> Quibusdam haec placet causa: aiunt habere terram intra se recessus cavos et multum spiritus. Qui necessario frigescit umbra gravi pressus; deinde

> piger et immotus in aquam, cum se desiit ferre, convertitur; quemadmodum supra nos mutatio aeris imbrem facit, ita infra terras flumen aut rivum.

In fact, this model of subterranean caves accumulating and channeling streams underground between their point of entry and their point of exit was not so far from reality. As mentioned earlier, most of Greece rests on limestone bedrock, creating a karstic terrain. Water from melted snow and rain trickles down the mountains into basins and progressively weathers the surface, creating sinkholes as natural outlets for lakes and allowing streams to dive underground.[16] The water diving in these sinkholes carves underground caves in the bedrock, and thus creates a cave system. Then it circulates underground until it finds a way out, draining back to the surface further away in the shape of a natural spring. Of course, due to the underground caves, this geomorphological layout can pose various threats. Caves caused by water are, for instance, susceptible to collapse and can cause earthquakes.[17] The natural drainage system can also become clogged or saturated and provoke floods, a phenomenon frequently experienced by the Arcadians and the Boeotians.[18] Hence, Strabo, Seneca, and Diodorus formed quite sensible hypotheses, based on observation, to explain rationally a common natural phenomenon.

## 4 Where Does the Water Go? Imagining the Underworld

The previous section showed how subterranean rivers were acutely observed in antiquity, and how those observations found their way not only in 'scientific', rationalizing writings, but were also woven into myths. The mythological explanations will now be further explored, for it appears that the peculiarities of karstic terrain inspired a whole range of myths explaining *where* the water went. The observations made in karstic landscapes by ancient Greek authors led to two conclusions: on the one hand, if streams dived underground, then they must have ended up *somewhere*. On the other hand, if streams dived underground, then the underground must be *wet*. As it turns out, the wet place where rivers ended up under the surface was conceived as no other than the world of the dead.

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16 Higgins and Higgins 1996, 13; Clendenon 2009, 146.

17 White et al. 1995, 459.

18 Thuc. 5.65.4; Plut. *De sera* 12; Paus. 8.14.2, 15.5; Semple 1929, 121 and 126; Pritchett 1965, 123; Knauss et al. 1984; Knauss 1987; Knauss 1988; Corvisier 1994, 315.

The subject of Hades, Tartarus, and their topography is too broad to be fully treated here, and only two issues that are relevant to this study and consistently featured in descriptions of the underworld will be explored further. Firstly, the different access routes to the world of the dead, and secondly, the representation of the place as wet. It will appear that the images of Hades and its surroundings may have been inspired by the widespread karstic landscapes in Greece, and that the stereotype of 'dank' Hades results from the observation of subterranean rivers.

### 4.1 *Access to the Realm of the Dead*

There are two main ways by which one can reach the realm of the dead: one is by undertaking a *katabasis* along a damp and dark route, and the other is by sailing. The earliest instance of a visit to the dead is in Homer, and incidentally, both of these methods are described. On the one hand, the souls of the suitors killed by Odysseus at the end of the poem descend, led by Hermes, on a dank path. They then cross Oceanus, the river encircling the earth, and reach their last dwelling, the meadow of asphodel (*Od.* 24.1–15). Another instance of a descent to the world of the dead through such a *katabasis* is in the *Iliad*: it seems quite clear that the dead *descend* into Hades, much as the departed suitors did, and the souls of the dead heroes also end up in the meadow of asphodel.[19]

On the other hand, there is a way to enter Hades by sailing. At *Od.* 10.503–532, Circe tells Odysseus to sail to Hades as far as the Grove of Persephone. Once there, Odysseus could communicate with the souls of the departed who would come to him in what seems to be a no-man's land between the world of the living and the world of the dead.[20] Hence, in Homer, one enters different parts of the realm of the dead depending on what means of approach one takes: by going down, or by sailing. Still, there does not seem to be a concern to draw a coherent topography of the underworld, for it seems to be both beyond the world of the living and under it. The Hesiodic Tartarus offers the same kind of picture, as it is at the same time 'at the end of the huge earth' (*Theog.* 730) and under it (*Theog.* 767 f.).

Now, because of these two apparently contradictory images, the question that has been very much debated is the following: is the realm of the dead under the world of the living, or beyond it? Sourvinou-Inwood attempted to resolve this seeming paradox by claiming that it could be both, for once one sails too

19 E.g., Hom. *Il.* 8.10 f., 11.13–22, 11.568–600, 14.455 f.

20 Fouache and Quantin 1999, 31. This passage has been the subject of much scholarly debate; I shall not take part in it here.

far westwards, one goes over the edge of the world and thus ends up under the surface.[21] Another interpretation has been to say that while the normal route taken by the souls of the departed is to go downwards, Odysseus and his men, because they are not actually dead, take another route.[22] It is as if they were coming into Hades by the back door. Archaic Tartarus, on the other hand, where disobedient gods and mythical characters are punished for eternity, is quite clearly situated under Hades in a dark, windless, subterranean place.[23] In any case, what is consistent is that the world of the dead lies somewhere outside the world of the living, and can be reached in multiple places.[24]

The *katabasis* through dark and damp ways very much recalls Plutoneia, entrances to the underworld often located in caves in a landscape evoking the underworld. We find one for instance at Eleusis, where ritual connections with the afterlife and underworld are strong, or in Acarnania near the Acheron lake, or at Hierapolis.[25] On the other hand, the dead could also come closer to the living through similar gates. Necromancy was practiced in dark places in contact with the underworld, called *nekuomanteia*.[26] Some of these *nekuomanteia* were in caves, others in buildings where the encounter with the departed would take place in an underground chamber.[27] Although it was not very common, there was a certain idea that caves were tunnels leading to the underground, and that the underground equated with the underworld. This might result from the fact that, sometimes, a cave's end is concealed by a deceptive natural feature such as a dark pool or a tunnel too narrow to allow a human body to squeeze through.[28] But caves are actually finite, a discovery that caused great disappointment to Pausanias (3.25) when he realized that the Taenarum oracle of the dead had an end before he could reach the world below. This downwards journey suggests that the way taken by the souls of the newly-dead could also be taken for a short

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21 Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 60.

22 Bernstein 1993, 26; Ogden 2001, 254; Garland 2001, 49 f. The scholarship on the issue is diverse and numerous. See also Austin 1975, 95; Blaise et al. 1996, 1–60.

23 Hom. *Il.* 8.10–18; Hes. *Theog.* 716–726.

24 Mackie 1999, 485.

25 Ogden 2001, 25–26; Ustinova 2009, 68.

26 Necromancy was not a very popular ritual, and was often practiced by evil characters: Hdt. 5.92 (Periander of Corinth), Paus. 3.17.9 (Pausanias of Sparta). Fouache and Quantin 1999, 58; Ogden 2001, 251; Ustinova 2009, 68–69.

27 Necromancy could happen in caves (Ustinova 2009, 65), but not only there (Ogden 2001, 18). See Parke 1967, 26 f.; Rudhardt 1971, 78; Kingsley 1995, 282; Rosenberger 2001, 129–133; de Jonge 2003, 214; Ustinova 2009, 6–7 and 68–69.

28 Ogden 2001, 252.

stretch by the living wanting to contact the dead, and the other way round by souls of the departed who were summoned by the living.[29]

Thus, contact between the two realms happened in several places in the Greek world, whether through a *nekuomanteion* or at a designated spot. Curiously, the multiplicity of these places of contact with the underworld in the world of the living did not seem to cause much trouble or confusion. Lucian makes sense of this apparent contradiction rather humorously. Menippus wants to go to the underworld to consult Tiresias (Luc. *Men.* 22). After enduring a simulacrum of a purification ritual at the hands of a Babylonian magician, Menippus enters the underworld in Babylon by sailing, in a way that explicitly hints at Odysseus' voyage in the *Odyssey*. After having walked around the various sectors of the underworld and met Tiresias, he is tipped off by the magician about a shortcut that will lead him directly to Greece. He thus exits on foot this time, and ends up in the temple of Trophonius at Lebadeia, where the Boeotians descend to the underworld. Lucian's version synthesizes the different topographies of the realm of the dead by turning it into a very large space that stretched under the earth, accessible at several spots in several ways, by sailing or by walking.[30]

The world of the dead was never far away: there were entrances to the underworld in several places, which were not particularly secret or hard of access.[31] Taenarum, where Heracles came back from Hades with Cerberus, Thesprotia, Heracleia Pontica, Cumae, and many other places were seen as places that allowed access to the world of the dead; yet this did not prevent these places from being inhabited or sanctuaries that had little to do with the realm of the dead from being built nearby.[32] But even if these places were not marked out by a particular cult of Hades or the dead, they still had something in common. A great proportion of them were set in landscapes marked by karstic characteristics, such as dramatic cliffs, large lakes, subterranean rivers or deep dark caves. These landscapes suit the Homeric descriptions of the world of the dead very well, so well that numerous attempts have been made since antiquity

29 See Hdt. 5.92; Plut. *Cim.* 6; Paus. 9.30.6; Luc. 6.651–653; Sourvinou-Inwood 2009, 307–308; Ogden 2001, 25–26, 251; de Jonge 2003, 165 f.; Ustinova 2009, 68 f.

30 See also Philostr. *VA* 8.19.

31 Kroonenberg recounts his visits to most of these places all over Europe in his book. For Greece and Italy, see especially 2013, 81–107.

32 See Gruppe 1906, 815 for a list. Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 75 f.; Vermeule 1979, 200–201, 252 n. 27; Ogden 2001, 17; Ustinova 2009, 68. Taenarum: Plut. *Mor.* 560E–F; Thesprotia: Hdt. 5.92; Paus. 9.30.6. Heracleia Pontica: Plut. *Cim.* 6; Plut. *Mor.* 555C; Amm. Marc. 22.8.16–17; Cumae: Diod. Sic. 4.22.

to identify the place where Odysseus proceeds to his own necromantic episode with one of these places: Thesprotia, Cumae, or Heracleia Pontica on Pontus Euxinus.[33] Some have argued that Homer got his inspiration from visiting one of these places: it is not impossible, but what is even more remarkable is that so many places seem to fit the description worded by Circe in *Od.* 10.503–532, specific though it is.

## 4.2 *'Loathsome and Dank'*

There are rather few detailed descriptions of the realm of the dead in ancient literature or art before the fifth century BCE. However, in the descriptions we have, it is rather consistently presented in Greek sources as εὐρώεις, 'dank' or 'moldy', and crossed by rivers.[34] In fact, water is the only consistent element of the underworld in all of its descriptions, although streams and water expanses are not always given names.[35]

First of all, we have seen that access to Hades can be granted through water. At *Od.* 10.503–532, Circe tells Odysseus to sail to Hades until he crosses Oceanus. There, more infernal water awaits the hero: he must walk as far as the confluence of Acheron, Pyriphlegethon, and Cocytus, which is a branch of the Styx (*Od.* 10.513–515).[36] Circe's directions are followed by their fulfillment at *Od.* 11.13 f., when the ship reaches Oceanus and the misty, dark land of Cimmerians at the bounds of the earth, which neighbors the world of the dead—and seems to have shared its humid atmosphere. At *Od.* 24.1–15, although the way to reach Hades is different, water is still omnipresent. Hermes guides the souls of the dead suitors 'down the dank ways' (κατ' εὐρώεντα κέλευθα, *Od.* 24.10), then across Oceanus until the meadow of asphodel. Wherever one enters, Homeric Hades is crossed by rivers.

Identifying the infernal rivers, however, proves more difficult. If in the *Odyssey* the rivers Oceanus, Cocytus, Pyriphlegethon, and Acheron are named, it is the only case in archaic literature where such detail is given.[37] In the *Iliad* and

33 See, e.g., Dakaris 1993 and Fouache and Quantin 1999, 33 f. (Thesprotia); Str. 5.4.5 echoed in Bérard 1924, 311 f. (Cumae); Bérard et al. 1952, 241, Kroonenberg 2013, 26–28 (Pontus Euxinus).

34 Garland 2001$^2$, 51. Hom. *Od.* 24.10; *Il.* 20.65.

35 On the importance of a water-border with the world of the dead in epic poetry: West 1966 *ad* Hes. *Theog.* 778–779, 784; Baladié 1980, 17–24; Vernant 1991, 123–124, 132, 134.

36 See n. 20 above.

37 Hom. *Od.* 10.508–515. Because the four rivers are only named once in the *Odyssey* and then remain anonymous—apart from the Styx—Merry et al. 1886, 437 and Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 61 suggest that lines 513–515 were added to the text later.

Hesiod, only Styx is named as an infernal river.[38] However, Hesiod describes the whole of Tartarus—the Hesiodic name of the realm of dead—as a really dank place (Hes. *Theog.* 729–740):

> There by the counsel of Zeus who drives the clouds
> the Titan gods are hidden under misty gloom,
> in a dank place where are the ends of the huge earth
> …
> And there, all in their order, are the sources and ends
> of gloomy earth and misty Tartarus
> and the unfruitful sea and starry heaven,
> loathsome and dank, which even the gods abhor.
>
> tr. EVELYN-WHITE

> ἔνθα θεοὶ Τιτῆνες ὑπὸ ζόφῳ ἠερόεντι
> κεκρύφαται βουλῇσι Διὸς νεφεληγερέταο,
> χώρῳ ἐν εὐρώεντι, πελώρης ἔσχατα γαίης.
> …
> ἔνθα δὲ γῆς δνοφερῆς καὶ ταρτάρου ἠερόεντος
> πόντου τ’ ἀτρυγέτοιο καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος
> ἑξείης πάντων πηγαὶ καὶ πείρατ’ ἔασιν,
> ἀργαλέ’ εὐρώεντα, τά τε στυγέουσι θεοί περ·

Subsequently, we find only vague references to the streams without any indication of where they flow. Three Homeric Hymns name the Styx (*Demeter* 259, 423; *Apollo* 84–86; *Hermes* 519), but the other three rivers are not referred to at all. Later, Sappho (95.13 L–P) and Alcaeus (38.2, 8 L–P) only mention the Acheron, while Pindar refers to the Acheron at *Pyth.* 11.21, *Nem.* 4.85, fr. 143 and to the Styx in *Paean* 10.4.

Still, the wetness of the realm of the dead is constant, and seems to be a topos in references to death and its consequences. For instance, Aeschylus mentions the Cocytus and the banks of the Acheron in Cassandra’s anticipation of death (*Ag.* 1156–1161). Aristophanes’ *Frogs* offers a broader picture of the underworld, again emphasizing its wetness. Damp, murky, dank, moldy, the realm of the dead is dark and humid, and the vast number of streams crossing it probably causes its dampness. In addition, his Hades displays a change operating in the classical period, as the Acheron tends to become a lake (Ar. *Ran.* 183 f.).

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38 E.g., Hom. *Il.* 8.369; Hes. *Theog.* 361.

According to the tragedians (Aesch. *Sept.* 856, Eur. *Alc.* 443, 900–902), it is this lake that the deceased need to cross to reach their last dwelling place. Even in Orphic tablets, the deceased initiates arrive at a place with a spring and a lake.[39] Sophocles, too, underlines the wetness of Hades by making the chorus say that it has 'a pool which receives all men' (Soph. *El.* 137–138), probably referring to the Acherusian lake.[40] Acherusian lakes can also be observed in the topography of the realm of the living, as Thucydides (1.46) reports one in Thesprotia, and Xenophon (*An.* 6.2.2) another in Chersonese, while still acknowledging the lake's infernal status.[41]

In pictorial art, too, the underworld is wet. Polygnotus' fifth-century BCE painting of the underworld in the Lesche of the Cnidians at Delphi seeks to compile all existing images of the realm of the dead. It brings together the archaic underworld of Homer and Hesiod, its classical equivalent—in which Charon helps the departed cross the Acherusian lake—and the Orphic underworld (Orpheus and his lyre are represented on the painting).[42] The painting is now lost, but has been described by Pausanias (10.28.1):

> There is water like a river, clearly intended for Acheron, with reeds growing in it; the forms of the fishes appear so dim that you will take them to be shadows rather than fish. On the river is a boat, with the ferryman at the oars.
>
> tr. JONES

> ὕδωρ εἶναι ποταμὸς ἔοικε, δῆλα ὡς ὁ Ἀχέρων, καὶ κάλαμοί τε ἐν αὐτῷ πεφυκότες καὶ ἀμυδρὰ οὕτω δή τι τὰ εἴδη τῶν ἰχθύων ⟨ὡς⟩ σκιὰς μᾶλλον ἢ ἰχθῦς εἰκάσεις. καὶ ναῦς ἐστιν ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ καὶ ὁ πορθμεὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς κώπαις.

Apuleian vases of the fifth and fourth centuries BCE also very clearly show that the house of Hades overlooked an expanse of water. For instance, on a fourth-century BCE red volute crater from Canosa attributed to the Underworld Painter, one can even discern the edge of a lake with reed and ducks at the bottom of the vase, underneath scenes representing the palace of Hades and

39 See the Orphic gold tablets gathered in Graf and Johnston 2013[2].

40 The name of the expanse of water one must cross to enter the world of the dead is not always given: de Jonge 2003, 215.

41 See Kroonenberg 2013, 74–81 for a similar inventory of occurrences of infernal rivers in literature.

42 Albinus 2000, 133.

Persephone, Heracles, Cerberus, and various mythological sinners.[43] The Lord of the dead himself is sometimes represented on votives in the company of the river-god Acheloüs.[44] His name was even given to two rivers, the Aidoneus in Marpessos and the Plouton.[45]

Finally, Plato's *Phaedo* gives the most striking picture of wetness in the realm of the dead, and resuscitates the four Homeric rivers, including the Pyriphlegethon, which had disappeared until then. Plato's Tartarus—as he calls the world of the dead—is a giant pit from which infernal rivers pour in and out. These rivers then find their way back to the world of the living, where they create seas, marshes, rivers, and springs. After their journey on the surface, they end their cycle back in Tartarus.[46] According to Plato, the souls of humans who led a neutral life dwell in the Acherusian lake. But the dead who committed great sins stay in Tartarus and are borne for a year in the stream of Cocytus or Pyriphlegethon—depending on their crimes—until the rivers carry them into the Acherusian lake. There they beg for forgiveness from those whom they wronged, and if they are not granted grace, they go back into the rivers for another year or years until they are forgiven.[47] From this description, it seems that the wetness of the world of the dead has reached an extreme: there is no land, apart perhaps from where the neutral souls dwell around the Acherusian lake. Furthermore, being endlessly carried in water or lava is not the only punishment in Tartarus. Many famous endless punishments for unjust people involved water or mud. The Danaids, for instance, endlessly fill a leaky pitcher, while Tantalus floats in a pool from which he can never drink. Liars, the impure or, later, those who are not initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries are condemned to lie in a pool of mud after death.[48]

43 Staatliche Antikensammlung und Glyptothek inv. n. 3297, Munich (ca. 330–310 BCE).

44 *LIMC* 4, s.v. Hades (R. Lindner and S.-C. Dahlinger). With Acheloüs, Pan, Zeus, and goddesses: fourth-century BCE votive relief from Megara, in Staatl. Mus. Berlin (SK 679).

45 Aidoneus: Paus. 10.12.3–4, otherwise unknown. Plouton: Aesch. *PV* 806.

46 Pl. *Phd.* 112a–114c; see the chapter by Richard Buxton in this volume.

47 Pl. *Phd.* 113a f.

48 Hom. *Od.* 10.512, 23.322; Hes. *Op.* 153; Soph. *Aj.* 1167: *taphos eurôeis*; Ar. *Ran.* 145 f., 273 f.; Plat. *Phd.* 69c; Diog. Laert. 6.39; Aristid. *Or.* 22.10; Plut. fr. 178; Opp. *Hal.* 1.781, 2.89. The Eleusinian mysteries might themselves be inspired by Eastern rituals of purification by mud—precisely to avoid immersion in mud after death. Attempting to put a date on when this idea of punishment in mud after death arose is difficult, but Graf 1974, 104–107 has argued that it might derive from archaic Orphic and early Pythagorean beliefs. See also Dem. *Or.* 18.259.

Subsequently, Roman authors also picked up on the tradition of a wet underworld: Vergil's own *nekuia* in *Aeneid* 6 is the emblematic heir of the images of the underworld conveyed by his Greek predecessors.[49] Hence, the picture of the realm of the dead as a wet place in Greek literature was a consistent, widespread and long-lasting one.[50]

## 5 Conclusion: Geographical *aitia* for the Realm of the Dead

We may conclude that the fact that the underworld was believed to be so wet probably results from the empirical observation of karstic landscapes. We have seen that subterranean rivers were commonly observed and dealt with since the Bronze Age, and that Greek literature extensively reports the phenomenon of diving streams. Moreover, there was an awareness of the circuit of water diving down into and flowing out of the surface as early as in the archaic period. In Hesiod and Homer, all fresh water on earth originates from Oceanus, the river encircling the earth. Oceanus and Tethys are parents to the three thousand rivers and three thousand springs, nourish them, and the rivers then go back to the source from where they came.[51] In Plato too, the water originating from Tartarus flows on the surface before coming back to where it came from. Therefore, there seems to have been an intuitive understanding of the hydrological cycles, where water comes up on the surface, flows, then disappears into the ground to reappear again somewhere else.[52] This conception of a cyclical travel of water may explain why the Greeks seem to have had no problem in co-existing with infernal waters. The Styx, for instance, flows at Nonacris in Arcadia, and there are Acherusian lakes at Cumae in Magna Graecia, in Thesprotia in Epirus, or in the Chersonese. Certainly, not all of these supposedly infernal rivers vanish underground: but their dark waters all emerge from inside the ground in the shape of a spring, or like the Cocytus in Thesprotia in Epirus, from a hole.[53]

Similarly, the multiplication of entrances and exits to the underworld matches the behavior of subterranean rivers, which dive at one place and reap-

49 See especially Verg. *Aen.* 6.298–304, 384–394.

50 See also Cic. *Tusc.* 1.16.37; *Anth. Pal.* 5.240, 7.67–68, 7.365; Apul. *Met.* 6.18; Luc. *Dial. mort.* 20.1. Images of a damp underworld persisted for centuries afterwards, as in Dante's *Inferno* for instance. See Kroonenberg 2013, 7–11 and 74 f.

51 Hes. *Theog.* 337 f.; Hom. *Il.* 21.194 f.

52 On the subject, see Burdon and Papakis 1963.

53 Fouache and Quantin 1999, 50.

pear at another, and it does not seem to be questioned as an inconsistency. These rocky holes in which water dives underground are themselves related to the underworld: they are called *barathron*, 'gaping hole',[54] or *khasma*, 'mouth', bearing the same name as the holes by which access can be granted to the underworld.[55] Actually, most entrances to Hades were located in karstic landscapes. It was also perfectly believable that caves, carved in limestone bedrock typical of karst, were preferred places of contact with the departed or would lead to the underworld. Besides, Homeric descriptions of entrances to the underworld suit this type of place particularly well.

Conversely, not all rivers that are held to go underground are infernal—the Alpheius and Eurotas, for instance, have nothing to do with the underworld. Still, some rivers, in some contexts, are thought to emerge from the realm of the dead, probably because the wider landscape of the place had a characteristic appearance comparable to that described in Homer, or because of some other numinous feature.[56]

As a result, because water conspicuously dived underground through holes, and because some particular holes were supposed to lead to the underworld, it was perfectly logical to imagine the world below to be wet. Although the topography of the underworld remains largely vague, it is consistently represented as dank, damp, and crossed by streams. Yet, not everything in the world of the dead is wet: the Pyriphlegethon is a river of fire, or, according to Plato, of lava. Again, its existence is inspired by empirical observation of natural phenomena, as Richard Buxton very well argues in this volume. The fiery Pyriphlegethon might be an aetiological invention to explain the functioning of volcanoes, another infernal landscape. In Cumae, the hollow dark lakes, hot springs, caves, and phlegrean emanations nicely match the descriptions of Tartarus irrigated by the flaming Pyriphlegethon.[57] Furthermore, the elaborate portrait of infernal rivers in Plato can also be paralleled with the subterranean rivers of the Sicilian limestone terrain.[58] Hence, it seems that the same aetiological mechanism is at play in the case of the rivers of water and of fire. The introduction

54 Str. 8.8.

55 *Barathron* in Hom *Il.* 8.14, Pl. *Phd.* 111d–113c. The oracle of Trophonius at Lebadeia is in a *khasma* (see above, p. 112). See Connors and Clendenon 2012, 345.

56 For numinosity as a feature of landscapes, see the chapter by Margaret Miles in this volume.

57 Thuc. 3.116; Str. 1.2.18, 5.4, 13.4.14; Empedocles in Procl. *In Ti.* 2.8.26–28; Pl. *Phd.* 111c–113b; Kingsley 1995, 72–79.

58 Kingsley 1995, 82 with references to Diod. Sic. 11.89.1; Str. 6.29; Macrob. *Sat.* 5.19.19–21, 25; Pl. *Phd.* 111c–112a.

of Pyriphlegethon into the mythology of a volcano-less land such as mainland Greece may result from a blending of aetiological myths aiming to explain noteworthy landscape features.

Thus, it seems quite probable that there was a connection between the omnipresence of subterranean rivers in Greece and the image of the realm of the dead as a dark, wet, and moldy place crossed by waters. This chapter has shown that the observation of a common natural phenomenon, namely the transit of streams of water in and out of the ground, may have prompted the imaginary topography of Hades and Tartarus. The fact that the localization of the world of the dead differs from one author to the next does not contradict this. In fact, it is likely that everyone had their own idea of what the afterlife would look like, based on their exposure to myths and works of art at various points in time.

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CHAPTER 6

# Experience and *Stimmung*: Landscapes of the Underworld in Seneca's Plays*

*Kathrin Winter*

## 1 Introduction

Whenever a character in Seneca's plays prepares to transgress the boundaries between the upper world and the realms of the dead, be it a hero who is about to descend to the underworld or a seer who conjures up its ghosts, the scene usually opens with the vivid and detailed description of a landscape. Like most descriptions in Seneca's plays, these passages have not remained without criticism for their disproportional length and apparent lack of substantial contribution to the plot.[1] They are usually explained as set pieces meant to create a gloomy backdrop for the most hideous crimes.[2]

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1 This criticism was already expressed in the eighteenth century by Lessing and Schlegel in their works on literary criticism and aesthetic theory (Lessing 1967 [1766], 32–33; Schlegel 1966 [1809–1811], 234–235). Despite denying the dramatic quality of Seneca's plays in *Laokoon*, Lessing shows an approving as well as a critical opinion of these scenes in his early writings (cf. Barner 1973, 16–34): on the one hand, he admires the splendor and power of Senecan descriptions (ibid. 114); on the other, he disapproves of the lengthy delay they cause in the plot (ibid. 142). For similar criticism in classical scholarship cf., e.g., Jacobs 1796, 339–408; Leo 1878, 148–158; Zwierlein 1966, 112–113.

2 The ways of approaching description in Seneca's plays can be categorized according to the three general ways of dealing with an ecphrasis which Fowler 1991, 26–27 suggests. According to him, a 'narratively redundant' description is explained (a) as 'increas[ing] the sense of reality of the scene before us', (b) by 'integrating it with the narrative', and (c) by looking for a 'relation of description to narrative on a psychological level'. Senecan descriptions are said to convey vividness and a sinister atmosphere (e.g., Tietze Larson 1994, 13–15; Schmitz 1993, 64 n. 174; Töchterle 1994, 430) or to contribute to the plot or the characterization of the protagonist (e.g., Henry and Walker 1965; Shelton 1978, 56–57); often, they are interpreted on a psychological level (Tietze Larson 1994, 159–167; Mastronarde 1970; Segal 1986). My analyses will confirm Fowler's point especially with regard to vividness and integration but also emphasize another factor: the recipient. A generic approach to

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The landscape itself and its purpose have received little attention so far. The descriptions, however, encourage such a focus by accentuating the representation of space and its experience, sensory perceptions, and corporality. Whereas a lot of research has been conducted on the literary tradition, especially Seneca's links with Vergil's *Aeneid*, scholars have yet to investigate how the apparently emotional quality of the underworld in the plays, i.e., its dark and threatening atmosphere, is brought about or why such effort is put into creating this effect. It is the aim of this chapter to consider these problems.

Prime examples are to be found in the *Hercules Furens*, where Theseus gives a precise account of Hercules' underworld journey, in the *Thyestes*, where the messenger elaborately describes the deepest recesses of Atreus' palace as an underworld-like place, and in the *Oedipus*, where Tiresias opens the underworld to perform necromancy. As it provides the most detailed description, Theseus' account of the underworld in the *Hercules Furens* appears to be a particularly fruitful and promising object of investigation. Nevertheless, the versions given in the *Thyestes* and the *Oedipus* will also be considered. Literary tradition is, of course, important and comparisons with the literary models for Theseus' report, the *katabasis* in Vergil's *Aeneid* 6 and the representation of Tartarus in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 4, will at times illuminate the examination.

First, I will analyze how the experience of space is produced and conveyed by the description of the underworld landscape. How is the strong impression of vividness created (section 2)? In a second step, I will examine how the emotional quality of the place is brought into the text; I propose to use the concept of *Stimmung* to analyze the literary technique employed here. In accordance with this focus, the role of the recipient[3] to whom the description is directed will come to the fore: after having been carefully guided down to the underworld, he is also meant to re-experience the quality of the place (section 3). This is part of a more general technique to destabilize what is normal and

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the problem of descriptions in Seneca's plays is put forward by Zanobi 2014, who considers Senecan set pieces to be influenced by pantomime (an idea first put forward by Zimmermann 1990). This approach, however, presupposes (as does the criticism on Senecan descriptions) that the plays consist of loosely connected scenes which can be separated and read independently from one another (cf. Friedrich 1933; Jacobs 1796, 351–352). The recipient, as will be shown, is a crucial factor as to why the plays should rather be understood as a unity.

3 In the following, I use the term in a general sense, which is not meant as a statement on the question whether Seneca's plays were ever actually (or intended to be) performed.

familiar (section 4). Finally, I will consider what consequences this mode of representation has for the recipient within the context of the play (section 5) and how the narrative description is inserted into the dramatic genre (section 6).

## 2 Going Down to Hell: Sensory Perceptions, Corporality, and Space

The first question to ask is how the descent and the underworld landscape are mediated by the description.[4] It is usually taken for granted that Seneca's 'rhetorical showpiece[s]'[5] create vividness, so the recipient can witness the event as if he were present.[6] But how is this vividness brought about and which narratological means are used? There is a detailed description of physical aspects, of sensory perceptions (not only visual but also acoustic and tactile), creating an impression of corporality in the recipient, i.e., the feeling of having a body and being placed within an environment. These elements are crucial for shaping the underworld and for producing its emotional quality.

A description conveys spatial experience by means of the eyes alone or by means of eyes and feet. A place can either be represented in a 'gaze tour', in which the observer takes a fixed position and describes what he sees, or in a 'route perspective', in which he moves around and gives an account of the way.[7] In the *Hercules Furens*, Theseus' description of the *katabasis* combines both techniques. After a brief glimpse from outside of the inaccessible

4 Kroonenberg 2013 takes the reverse approach: starting from descriptions of hellish places in ancient and early modern literature (especially from the physical experience represented), he investigates which geological features are implied and tries to locate the actual places after which the descriptions were modeled.

5 Shelton 1978, 50.

6 For ancient concepts of *enargeia*, cf. Manieri 1998; Otto 2009; Webb 2009, 87–130. Aygon 2004 provides a categorization of Senecan descriptions. On *enargeia* and the Stoic notion of *phantasia* in Senecan plays, cf. Mowbray 2012, 396–399; Kirichenko 2013, 207–248. It is noteworthy that in Seneca's plays, this aspect was developed and discussed in a decidedly negative and disapproving context (Jacobs 1796, 350, for example, states that the recipient's imagination is blinded by the richness of the description and that his mind is numbed by the rhetorical technique; cf. also n. 1).

7 Linguistic studies suggest that there are three basic methods of describing a spatial environment: a 'survey' (which is equivalent to looking at a map), a 'gaze tour' (which involves a static observer perspective within an environment), or a 'route perspective' (in which the observer moves around); cf. Taylor and Tversky 1992 and 1996.

grove at Cape Taenarus (662–663), the entrance to the underworld itself is displayed in a gaze tour (664–674):[8]

> Here the house of hateful Dis opens its mouth;
> a tall cliff gapes wide, a cavernous abyss
> extends its vast jaws
> and spreads a broad path for all the nations.
> At the outset the way is not obscured by darkness:
> there falls a faint brightness from the light left behind,
> a twilight glow of the weakened sunshine,
> which baffles the eye. Such is the light, mingled with darkness,
> familiar at dawn or dusk.
> Then, there open up empty regions, spaces extensive enough
> for all the human race to enter, once plunged into the earth.

> hic ora solvit Ditis invisi domus
> hiatque rupes alta et immenso specu
> ingens vorago faucibus vastis patet
> latumque pandit omnibus populis iter.
> non caeca tenebris incipit primo via;
> tenuis relictae lucis a tergo nitor
> fulgorque dubius solis adflicti cadit
> et ludit aciem: nocte sic mixta solet
> praebere lumen primus aut serus dies.
> hinc ampla vacuis spatia laxantur locis,
> in quae omne mersum pergat humanum genus.

The observer[9] appears to be standing on the edge of a gaping abyss. Deictic expressions (*hic, a tergo, primo*) define the position around which space unfolds as the verbs *solvit*, *patet*, and *pandit* subtly open up the field of vision. From his stationary viewpoint, the observer peers down the hole and takes in the scene. Strong emphasis is placed on the great width and depth of the cavern, which make it impossible to distinguish the bottom of the abyss. Additionally, the diffuse light alludes to visual perception and underlines the sense of corporality which is conveyed throughout the passage.

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8 The text of Seneca's tragedies is Zwierlein's OCT; translations are taken from Fitch 2002 and 2004. All changes are indicated. Translations of other Latin texts are mine.

9 I use the general term 'observer' to avoid the possible implications of the term 'focalizer', the reasons for which will become evident below.

A few expressions (*incipit, hinc*) already indicate that the gaze of the observer is moving down the hole; from line 675, the movement is made explicit when the entire description switches from gaze tour to route perspective (675–685):

> To travel is no toil: the path itself draws you down.
> As often a current sweeps ships unwillingly off course,
> so the downward breeze and the greedy void hurry you on,
> and the clutching shades never allow you to turn your steps backward.
> In the immense abyss within,
> the River Lethe glides quietly with calm waters,
> and takes away cares; and lest an opening for return
> should ever appear, it entwines its sluggish stream in many winding turns,
> just as the wandering Meander
> plays with its puzzled waters, bends back on itself
> and presses forward, uncertain whether to head for the seacoast or its source.
>
> nec ire labor est; ipsa deducit via:
> ut saepe puppes aestus invitas rapit,
> sic pronus aer urguet atque avidum chaos,
> gradumque retro flectere haut umquam sinunt
> umbrae tenaces. Intus immenso sinu
> placido quieta labitur Lethe vado
> demitque curas, neve remeandi amplius
> pateat facultas, flexibus multis gravem
> involvit amnem: qualis incertis vagus
> Maeander undis ludit et cedit sibi
> instatque dubius litus an fontem petat.

It is striking to consider how the downward movement is clearly apparent (*ipsa deducit via*) even though it is not displayed directly—for example, by means of describing how a person walks down the road. Instead, the comparison with a current (*aestus*) suggests the descent, combining the ease of the movement with the connotation of irresistibility. The imagery also appeals to tactile perception, an impression heightened further by the 'clutching shades' which will not permit any return.[10]

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10 Since the adjective *tenaces* refers to tactile perception, it is of less importance here

The adverb *intus* marks the arrival at the river Lethe, where the observer seems to stop. The movement, however, has not finished yet because the river is said to glide along gently and to 'entwine in many turns' (*multis flexibus involvit*). Only the comparison with 'wandering Meander' (*vagus Maeander*) brings the movement of the description to a halt: the river bends back and presses forward at the same time (*ludit, cedit, instat*) and, flowing simultaneously in opposite directions, is unable to move on. Hence, it is called aimless and 'uncertain' (*dubius*) as to where to head. As its motion is not directed anymore, the river appears to be narrowed to a stretch that is perceived by the observer, whose route has come to an end.

As this short passage contains the actual descent, it is noteworthy how carefully the recipient is guided into the underworld. Considering the structure of the narrative and the dramatic plot, there is no necessity to show the way in such detail. Alternatively, the description could also make a radical shift, using, for example, a simple adverbial phrase: 'in the underworld, the river Lethe glides quietly'.[11]

Subsequently, the description resumes the gaze tour to give an account of the environment (686–690a):[12]

Here lies the foul swamp of the torpid Cocytus;
here is the shriek of the vulture, there of the foreboding owl,
and the grim echoing omen of the unlucky screech owl.
Black bedraggled foliage hangs in shadowy fronds
on an overhanging yew tree […]

palus inertis foeda Cocyti iacet;
hic vultur, illic luctifer bubo gemit
omenque triste resonat infaustae strigis.

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whether *umbrae* must be understood as personified *Manes* or as the underworld in general (cf. Billerbeck 1999, 429; Fitch 1987, 297).

11 There are several examples in which a descent to the underworld is brought about without a description of its landscape, e.g., the *katabasis* of Orpheus (Ov. *Met.* 10.13–15) or Hor. *Carm.* 1.4; 2.13; 4.7.

12 In the *Thyestes*, the ecphrasis in the messenger's speech is arranged similarly: first, the palace is described from outside in a short gaze tour (641–645); then, the description switches to route perspective (646–656), leading the recipient into the innermost part of the house, which consists of a sinister grove. The surroundings, which closely resemble the underworld (with a comparison in lines 666–667), are then presented in a gaze tour again (657–679).

horrent opaca fronde nigrantes comae
taxo imminente […]

At the end of the route, the observer apparently finds himself in the middle of the underworld landscape, looking at a swamp and dark trees. The shrieks of different birds resounding throughout the space once again appeal to sensory perception and complement the visual and tactile sensations that were evoked in earlier passages. They strengthen the impression that the observer has come to a halt because such an acoustic environment suggests a fixed rather than a moving position. The verbs *gemit* and *resonat*, while implying the interplay between sound and echo, underline the spatial and static quality of the scene. Along with the gaze tour, this quality is retained in the subsequent description of the landscape.

From the two modes of representing space, gaze tour and route perspective, we can deduce that the description of the underworld does not merely enumerate different features of a landscape but rather creates a position to which the empirical world, the field of vision, and the sensory perceptions are related. The passage relies on the very familiar and elementary human experience of having a body, of orienting oneself in space, and of moving around in an environment. Consequently, the impression created here is so familiar that the audience can readily imagine it: the description fulfills the expectation of perspective. The reader is invited to identify with the observer and adopts his position without paying undue attention to the process of identification itself.[13] In so doing, the description creates vividness and heightens the 'effect of the real'.[14]

## 3 The *Stimmung* of the Underworld

Despite the vividness and familiarity of such descriptions of perception, the underworld itself does not appear to be a very familiar place. Its description

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13 It is, after all, impossible *not* to choose a perspective or viewpoint in a description (Fowler 1991, 28–29; Taylor and Tversky 1996, 371). However, the invitation to identify with the observer does not imply that the observer's experience and the reader's (aesthetic) experience are the same.

14 Fowler 1991, 26 uses Barthes's term 'effect of the real' to refer to the first way of explaining an ecphrasis within a narration. Fludernik 2002$^2$, 28 defines 'realism' as 'a mimetic representation of individual experience that cognitively and epistemically relies on real-world knowledge'.

is highly charged with negative imagery and emotive language that renders it threatening, terrible, and sinister. The eerie and gloomy atmosphere of the underworld landscape has been advanced as an explanation for the lengthy description of the place[15] but scholars do not usually ask how these negative emotions are connected with the landscape.

At first sight, the connection between landscape and emotion admits of two possibilities. Either the emotional quality is evoked by the environment and has an impact on the observer from outside, or it originates inside the observer's mind and is then projected onto the surroundings as they are perceived. We will see shortly that in Theseus' report neither possibility is acceptable. The emotional quality—though it must be connected with a perceiving subject—is not an expression of somebody's emotional state. But neither does it originate in the landscape: if we concentrate on the details given in Theseus' speech, we soon realize that it proves difficult to determine what specific feature in the underworld landscape must be blamed for the menacing effect—neither the yew tree nor the shrieks of the owl are threatening in themselves. Similarly, the sense of foreboding and danger is not due to a composite of worrying elements since the yew tree is not horrifying just because it is mentioned alongside the screech owl.

In order to approach the phenomenon, I propose to use the German term *Stimmung* because it does not ascribe the emotional quality to merely one of the two aspects, but positions it in the middle between subject and object. Certainly, the term has been coined and used by different aesthetic and philosophical theories,[16] nevertheless, its preconceptions, which are aptly summarized by David Wellbery,[17] cover exactly those aspects that are crucial to the description of the underworld landscape and its role within Seneca's plays. *Stimmung* implies a relationship with (a) a perceiving center, an observer, or subject on the one hand and (b) an outside, an object, or in this case a landscape on the other. The emotional quality established between the two is not directed at a specific object (which is why we cannot simply speak of an emotion) but diffuse

15 Cf. Billerbeck 1999, 404 and Zanobi 2014, 149–150, who quote the opinion but point out that this explanation is hardly satisfactory.

16 Wellbery 2003 offers a general overview on the aesthetic and philosophical usage of the term *Stimmung* from the eighteenth century to today. He also explains the ambiguity of the German word and its etymology in contrast with expressions from other languages (like the English 'mood' or 'atmosphere'). What is not covered by any English equivalent is the meaning of 'attunement', which is part of the semantics of *Stimmung* (ibid. 703–705).

17 Wellbery 2003, 703–705.

and ubiquitous.[18] As a result, *Stimmung* also has an integrating effect because it creates the impression of a unified outside, of a single complex arising from the interplay of different elements.[19] Moreover, the term carries a connotation of vagueness, which is very appropriate to the literary technique in the plays.

There are different means of producing the threatening and foreboding *Stimmung* of the underworld. One device frequently used in the *Hercules Furens*—and generally in Seneca's plays—is the personification of features of the landscape. At the beginning of the gaze tour, when the observer stands on the edge of the world, peering into the dark abyss, the cavern is described several times as a gigantic gorge whose width and depth seem endless (664–667). The description conjures up the powerful image of a gullet that must belong to a colossal, all-devouring animal ready to swallow and digest anyone who dares to enter the cave and follow the way down.[20] As we can see here, the threatening *Stimmung* arises in between the landscape and the observer, which is why there is so much emphasis on establishing his position.

Personification is also used to narrate the descent. The breeze actively urges the traveler forward (*pronus aer urguet*) and the *chaos* waiting in the abyss is described as 'greedy' (*avidum*)—a human characteristic. Such personifications suggest that the objects of nature act[21] with their own intent.[22] In general, another person's mind is inaccessible and therefore potentially hostile, but here the situation is much more precarious because features of a landscape are not supposed to have any intention or mind at all. Moreover, this presumed

18 Schmitz 1969, 280 calls this aspect of ubiquity 'atmosphärisch ergossen', pointing out that it is impossible to attribute the emotional quality to a specific object (ibid. 283).

19 Apart from the reference to the self ('Ichbezug') and an integrating function, Wellbery 2003, 705 mentions a third aspect: *Stimmung* has a communicative dimension because it can affect others and spread (subliminally without showing its rules or defining itself). We will return to this aspect in section 5 of this chapter.

20 Commenting on the use of *fauces* in Verg. *Aen.* 6.273, Norden 1957[4], 212–213 states that in earlier times, Hades used to be imagined as some kind of beast. Billerbeck 1983, 331 lists further examples for the image of a personified 'greedy death' in Latin literature.

21 Zanobi 2014, 157–159 speaks very aptly of an 'animated nature'. Allendorf 2013, 112 observes the same phenomenon in the ecphrasis of the *Thyestes*, where 'inanimate entities', mostly features of the landscape, are said to hesitate. They obviously exhibit human behavior, too.

22 A term used by Fludernik 2002[2], 55 when she explains that agency is the motivation of narrative: one's own motivations are obvious but those of others are unknown and must therefore be observed and interpreted. 'This basic dissymmetry in human cognition and experience has far-reaching consequences for subjective experience and the narrative representation thereof …' (ibid.).

intention is ascribed to the air or *chaos* and therefore not located precisely. The vague but unmistakable sense of danger subliminally evoked in the passage is intensified by the recurring appeal to sensory perceptions that heightens the impression of having a body and being placed within the surroundings: the observer is physically exposed to this strangely animated and inscrutable landscape.

The subsequent description enhances the menacing effect of the landscape. Close to the river Cocytus, ill-omened birds are heard and personified maladies and evils sit on a central, overhanging yew tree. These heralds of death, who do not act but are only present there, appear to be an integral part of the landscape. Their graphic and detailed depiction renders them physically intimidating because their attributes are identical to the symptoms they inflict on human beings (690–696):

> [...] an overhanging yew tree, the haunt of sluggish Sleep.
> There lies sad Hunger with wasted jaws,
> and Shame, too late, covers its guilty face.
> There are Fear and Panic, Death and gnashing Resentment;
> behind them black Grief, trembling Disease
> and steel-girt War; hidden at the back,
> feeble Old Age supports its steps with a stick.
>
> [...]
> taxo imminente, quam tenet segnis Sopor,
> Famesque maesta tabido rictu iacet
> Pudorque serus conscios vultus tegit.
> Metus Pavorque, Funus et frendens Dolor
> aterque Luctus sequitur et Morbus tremens
> et cincta ferro Bella; in extremo abdita
> iners Senectus adiuvat baculo gradum.

The metonymical structure of cause and effect provides a powerful and distinctly physical scene: Sleep is called *segnis* although it actually causes *others* to be 'sluggish', Hunger brings about 'wasted jaws' in hungry people, Shame induces people to cover *their* guilty faces, Resentment makes *others* 'gnash' their teeth, and so on. The figures' attributes indicate how all the evils manifest themselves in human beings, or to be precise: in human bodies. Significantly, allegorical figures are personified abstractions and hence not very vivid by themselves but here, their depiction helps to illuminate the landscape as a place of foreboding, threat, and fear.

A comparison with the corresponding lines in Vergil's *Aeneid* 6.274–281, the primary model for the Senecan version, illustrates the method employed and Seneca's innovation of the tradition. As Zanobi shows, the description in the *Hercules Furens* is more concrete and vivid than the Vergilian model, where almost the same figures are displayed but with 'the more abstract qualities connected with them'.[23] Vergil calls, for example, Old Age *tristis*, Hunger *malesuada*, Want *turpis*, and Sleep *consanguineus Leti*, attributes which appear to belong to a moral or emotional domain. In contrast, Seneca's description is physically intimidating since it appeals explicitly to human corporeal existence and can therefore be re-experienced more readily.[24]

A similar technique shows in the representation of the yew tree, whose 'black bedraggled foliage bristles in shadowy fronds' (*horrent opaca fronde nigrantes comae*, Sen. *HF* 689). Though the words *horrent* and *comae*, which depict the leaves on the tree, are conventionally used for vegetation, they also belong to the human sphere. *Comae* denotes 'hair' and *horrere* signifies the bristling of the hair on a body caused by cold or fear.[25] These meanings of the words are still perceptible even when their figurative use is well established. If we consider this literal signification more closely, the tree gives the same response that could be expected from the observer of the scenery: a physical reaction of horror caused by the horrifying and threatening surroundings.[26] As with the allegorical figures, cause and action, *agens* and *patiens* are not clearly distinguished and the distribution of subject and object is equally dubious as the tree shows the reaction the observer should give.

As we have seen so far, the personifications of the landscape and evils are displayed and exert an effect in relation to an observer. The description evokes

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23 Zanobi 2014, 160. (According to Zanobi, however, Seneca's version is more concrete than Vergil's because the verses may be accompanied by gesture and choreography.) On a full comparison of these lines with Vergil see ibid. 159–161 and Fitch 1987, 293, 300.

24 The first example in Vergil's list, *pallentes Morbi*, works along these lines (*Aen.* 6.275, cf. Horsfall 2013, 239, who emphasizes this special characteristic of the phrase) but evidently, Seneca's passage uses the appeal to the physical aspect of human existence more systematically.

25 *OLD* s.v. *coma* 1 and 3, s.v. *horreo* 1, 2, and 4. Cf. Norden 1957[4], 218 on the anthropomorphizing of plants, which was used frequently in antiquity.

26 An instructive example for the same reaction is found in Sen. *Thy.* 948–949: after Thyestes has eaten his children and before the true nature of the meal is revealed to him, he feels the symptoms of horror: '[M]y hair, though soaked in heavy myrrh, bristles in sudden shivering fits' (*pingui madidus crinis amomo / inter subitos stetit horrores*). Other examples are *arrectaeque horrore comae* (Verg. *Aen.* 12.868) or *rettulit ille gradus horrueruntque comae* (Ov. *Fast.* 2.502).

a sense of corporality and an emotional quality in order to produce vividness. It is curious, though, that at the same time, this graphic technique brings about a paradoxical situation: although the description creates an 'immersive' quality and the journey can easily be followed and re-experienced, it would be impossible to draw a picture of the underworld from it.

But this is not the only confusing aspect in Theseus' description. Despite all the emphasis placed on the observer's corporality and placement in the surroundings, it is impossible to tell who exactly experiences all those sensations. In the description of the descent, Theseus never refers to himself or his own experience.[27] The context also gives little evidence as to whose viewpoint is shared here. On the one hand, Amphitruo asks about Hercules' last labour, which Theseus then recounts. His story apparently traces a path that Hercules might have followed downwards and back again. On the other hand, Theseus was not with Hercules on his way down but only met him later in Tartarus, when the hero freed him from his chains—the episode is mentioned only briefly in line 806.

There is obviously less emphasis on the logical coherence of the story than on the vividness of the description and the experience the recipient is meant to share. It is thus perfectly possible to identify the position of the observer but not the observer himself. We can neither confidently state that Theseus 'sees' nor can we be certain that he amplifies his own experience. Of course, the experience of descending could be his, but the description does not acknowledge this fact.

Although this kind of narration is detached and impersonal, it uses highly dynamic modes of expression, for example, when the description switches from gaze tour to route perspective and back, thus giving the impression of moving within an environment. Additionally, the emphasis on sensory perception always implies that *somebody* is perceiving, which is at loggerheads with the fact that the perceiving figure or character is never specified. In other words, the impersonal mode of narration is employed to convey an experience, which has to be personal.

Again, a comparison with *Aeneid* 6 is instructive. When Aeneas descends to the underworld, he first passes the *vestibulum*, where the allegorical evils dwell on an elm tree and fantastic monsters are gathered (Verg. *Aen.* 6.269–289). The narration differs from Theseus' story because the narrator is heterodiegetic

27 Zanobi hence talks of a 'totally impersonal' narration (Zanobi 2014, 155–156; cf. also Walde 2010, 282 n. 46). There is only one use of the first person singular (in Sen. *HF* 737: *vidi*). The narration changes, however, in the second part, when Hercules' deeds are recounted (from line 760); cf. Zanobi 2014, 157.

and tells how Aeneas and the Sibyl walk downward: 'Alone in dark night, they walked through the shadow' (*ibant obscuri sola sub nocte per umbram*, 269). In general, the narrator follows Aeneas' viewpoint: for example, when the hero passes the monsters, he is scared and draws his sword to banish the phantoms until the Sibyl reminds him that shadows cannot be harmed by steel (290–294). This narrative mode is retained through the other episodes of the underworld journey. There, the narrator explicitly tells that Aeneas and the Sibyl proceed, what they see, and how Aeneas reacts[28] to the unfamiliar and often frightening surroundings.[29]

In Theseus' account of the underworld journey, such references to any specific person or character are missing although they would normally be expected of a homodiegetic narrator. Instead, it only offers a deictic center to which a field of vision and sensory perceptions are related.[30] The recipient probably expects such references because it is impossible *not* to choose a viewpoint in a description.[31] In this way, this narrative technique conveys the impression of an immediate and vivid experience because we readily adopt the place of the

28 It is striking that this technique is also found in cases of ecphrasis of artworks in the *Aeneid*. Such descriptions are much more complicated than the *descriptio loci* in the *Hercules Furens* because usually they depict an object which shows a scene of action; the incongruousness between the (temporally structured) story, which is represented there, and the (spatially arranged) picture clearly comes to the fore. In these instances, Vergil is especially interested in describing not only a work of art but also the simultaneous response of an internal focalizer, thus stressing the importance of the viewer in the construction of the meaning of an artwork (Barchiesi 1997, 275; Putnam 1998, 23).

29 Juno's visit to Tartarus in Ov. *Met*. 4 is similar to Verg. *Aen*. 6, although it starts with the impersonal mode of narration (432–433): 'There is a sloping way, shaded by deadly yew-trees: it leads down to the infernal realms through deep silence' (*est via declivis, funesta nubila taxo: / ducit ad infernas per muta silentia sedes*). The way down is made explicit by saying that the shadows of the dead follow the path (434–435): 'Shadows of the recently deceased go down there' (*umbraeque recentes / descendunt illac*). Ovid's description prefigures the technique used in the *Hercules Furens* but is not developed as much.

30 For the idea of 'deictic center' or '*origo*', cf. Bühler 1999[3], 79–148. The narratological term 'focalizer' seems problematic here because (a) it is difficult to answer the question 'who sees' and (b) the question is usually meant to refer to a person or character (cf. the examples given by Genette 2010[3], 118–121). Since the focalizer in Theseus' description is impersonal, it would be impossible to tell if the narrator knows more, less, or as much as the focalizer. I retain the term 'observer' because I do not want to smooth out the discrepancy between personal experience and impersonal narration.

31 Cf. n. 13.

deictic center and identify with it—paradoxically, even if it is impossible to tell with whom we are identifying. The text does not provide an answer but only offers a blank spot which is open to be taken by the recipient.

The complex construction of an indeterminate but discernible observer contributes to the threatening and vaguely dangerous *Stimmung* of the landscape. The features of the underworld landscape are dreadful and intimidating because they are related to a deictic center and combined with the awareness of having a physical existence, which is why so much emphasis is put on corporality, spatiality, and sensory perceptions. If we consider the lack of personal deixis, it is apparent that threat and fear are not the projection of a terrified subject who inscribes his feelings on the surrounding world: after all, *there is no such subject* identifiable in the narration.

## 4 Defamiliarization

The manner in which *Stimmung* is created corresponds to a more general technique employed in Senecan plays, a method I would like to term 'defamiliarization': something familiar or commonly accepted is displayed but its representation includes an incongruous or unexpected element and forms a discrepancy which is not necessarily disturbing or immediately noticeable. Accordingly, the representation works with and against the grain without producing an abrupt alienation effect.[32]

32 'Defamiliarization' is not meant in the sense of a Brechtian *Verfremdungseffekt* (for a possible relation between Brecht's epic theater and Senecan drama, see Schiesaro 2003, 246–248). The literary technique employed here clearly does not aim at interrupting identification and re-experience but aims at subliminally changing the perception of the recipient, who then experiences something familiar in an estranged way. The term is taken from Viktor Shklovsky (Shklovsky 2004$^2$): according to his concept of defamiliarization, poetry presents ordinary language in a new and unfamiliar way, causing recipients to realize the full power of words that they did not pay attention to anymore because of their familiarity. Seneca's technique is more specific as it creates an emotional and distinctly negative effect. This defamiliarization may be considered a variation of the 'poetics of uncertainty' (Allendorf 2013), which has recently been investigated with different focal points, either emphasizing narrative and epistemologic aspects of the phenomenon (Allendorf 2013), stressing the blurring of the boundaries between reality and performance (Mowbray 2012), or describing the technique with regard to paradox (Winter 2014). I retain the term 'defamiliarization' here because it lays emphasis on the subtlety with which uncertainty may be evoked (besides other, much more abrupt devices).

There are several striking illustrations of this technique in Seneca's descriptions of the underworld, one of which is provided by the choice of perspective: the recipient is encouraged to re-experience sensations and movements even though there is no particular person to identify with. On the one hand, the deictic center that appears to be merely a mental outline of a body is offset by a conspicuously animated environment. On the other, the landscape, which should only be an object that is perceived, is personified and displayed as if it had a mind of its own.[33] The combination (albeit slightly) defies the expectation based on familiarity and experience: what is non-human is portrayed as humanized; what we naturally expect to be human turns out to be strangely indeterminate and unfamiliar.

Theseus' report ends with a defamiliarized perspective of another kind. After the detailed description of the way there, the return trip counterbalances the beginning in a very surprising manner. As Alexander Kirichenko points out, the way up is described from the unusual perspective of Cerberus.[34] After Hercules has chained him and started walking upwards, the monstrous beast is frightened and hurt by the unaccustomed sunlight and tries to break free. When Hercules and Theseus gain control over him again, he ducks behind Hercules' back in a desperate attempt to hide his head in the hero's shadow (Sen. *HF* 813–827). The possibility of identifying and re-experiencing the events is once again great, and this time, the identity of the character whose perspective is selected is provided—but it is quite an alarming one.

*Hercules Furens* offers simpler forms of defamiliarization than these complex examples. Besides the foreboding and gloomy *Stimmung*, the underworld landscape differs from the upper world in its quality, which often contradicts the expectations raised by the audience's knowledge of nature. This is evident from Theseus' answer to Amphitruo, who asks whether there is any fertile soil in the underworld (699–706):

> There are no joyful grassy meadows of verdant aspect,
> no ripened grain rippling in the gentle west wind,
> no trees with fruit-laden branches;
> a barren desolation crusts over the Stygian soil,
> and the foul earth languishes in perpetual stagnation—

33 This is also a prime example of the integrating function of *Stimmung* because the 'outside' appears as something unified and homogeneous. Again, it is impossible to decide exactly which feature is animated or has a mind of its own.

34 Kirichenko 2013, 27. Kirichenko, however, considers this to be a radical alienation.

sad end of things, the world's last estate.[35]
The air hangs motionless, and a black night sits
over the torpid world. Everything is rough and blighted,
and the place of death is worse than death itself.

Non prata viridi laeta facie germinant
nec adulta leni fluctuat Zephyro seges;
non ulla ramos silva pomiferos habet:
sterilis profundi vastitas squalet soli
et foeda tellus torpet aeterno situ—
rerumque maestus finis et mundi ultima.
immotus aer haeret et pigro sedet
nox atra mundo: cuncta maerore horrida
ipsaque morte peior est mortis locus.

Theseus indicates two major characteristics of the underworld landscape: barrenness and a general lack of motion.[36] It is striking how by negating fertility and movement (*non, nec, non*) Theseus nevertheless mentions both aspects explicitly. We are primarily told what the underworld is not but this, in turn, brings to mind what is normal, expected and—in this case—regarded as positive. The wind is the only movement mentioned in the whole gaze tour, even if it is expressed *ex negativo*. It is made present by stating its absence, which simultaneously confirms the motionlessness that is described before and afterwards (and contrasts with it).[37]

But there is a third characteristic of the landscape underlining the unfamiliar quality of the space. Besides the immobility in space, time appears to be motionless, too. The underworld lacks the changes of day and night and the rhythm of the seasons, which is why it is also devoid of development and

35 Zwierlein rejects line 703. However, I follow Fitch 1987, 303 and Billerbeck 1999, 437–438, who keep the line and show that the sense of 'ending' is not only used spatially but also temporarily here.

36 For conventional attributes of the underworld in Latin literature, see Walde 2010, 282–283 and Fitch 1987, 293. For a closer interpretation of this passage, cf. Henry and Walker 1965, 13–14.

37 For example, in line 686 *palus inertis foeda Cocyti iacet*. In the description of the allegorical figures, there are a few verbs denoting motion but they do not contradict the motionlessness of the place since they do not describe any purposeful movement towards a goal: *sequitur* (694) is part of the enumeration and *adiuvat gradum baculo* (696) does not imply that Old Age goes anywhere.

growth.[38] Although this is a regular characteristic of the underworld in Latin literature, the description intensifies this aspect when the world is said to lie 'in eternal decay' (*aeterno situ*).[39] Decay is an inherently bounded process, i.e., it lasts only until everything has fallen to dust. Here, however, it is said to be lasting forever, which markedly and paradoxically suspends the progression of time. The portrayal of the landscape contradicts common knowledge or expectation, according to which a landscape may be infertile but not timeless, and so produces a defamiliarizing effect. The landscape of the underworld is still undoubtedly recognizable *as landscape* but simultaneously shows qualities a landscape in the upper world could not possibly possess.

Of course, what jars with one's expectations depends on the frame of reference provided. Timelessness is unfamiliar and impossible with regard to the knowledge of nature and the world. One could argue, though, that the unfamiliarity of the underworld is expected because of literary tradition; after all, features like the ill-omened birds, punishments of sinners, and allegorical figures are known from other literary sources. Nevertheless, even if the underworld is represented similarly in literary source texts, this knowledge does not necessarily undo all effects of unfamiliarity enhanced here: first, Seneca's technique invariably involves the proximity to the familiar in order to provide a sharp contrast[40]—something that his predecessors do not do systematically. Second, his descriptions differ from the versions in the source texts with regard to perspective. Seneca puts special emphasis on corporality (as can be deduced from the *katabasis* and the allegorical figures) and on the emotional quality and *Stimmung* of the place, both of which convey its incredible vagueness. He finally underlines the impossible nature of the landscape by showing it to be motionless and suspended in time. (In Vergil's or Ovid's versions of the underworld, the focal point is set very differently.)

Furthermore, Seneca's account of the underworld landscape is a very suitable way of representing death. The description stresses that death does not have an end or an aim and hence cannot undergo a development or change. To put it more concisely: death does not have a death that could render it meaningful. If it cannot be displayed in terms of a temporal sequence, of, for example, instances occurring one after the other and leading up to a final point, then

38 Cf. Walde 2010, 282. The only movement in the underworld of the *Hercules Furens* is cyclic: the eternal repetitions of the sinners' punishments (750–760).

39 Billerbeck 1999, 437.

40 Keeping the unfamiliar very close to what is familiar is a powerful means of creating uncertainty. The same idea is expressed by Allendorf 2013, 119 with regard to evoking horror. Cf. also Winter 2014, 258–265.

death must be represented spatially instead.[41] Aspects connected with death or symbolizing it (like the allegorical figures) may be present but do not act or aim at anything in Seneca's underworld landscape. They can only be displayed side by side.

Again, we can observe a paradoxical situation here: on the one hand, much emphasis is placed on corporality and on the *Stimmung* of the landscape, which are spatial themselves and therefore ideal for the depiction of something that can only be represented spatially. That way, death, which otherwise can never be experienced and subsequently recounted, is turned into something that might be re-experienced. On the other hand, the whole 'effect of the real' is fundamentally (albeit not aggressively) disturbed and so counterbalanced by a defamiliarizing mode of display. It is directed at the recipient and constantly reminds him that the underworld does not continue the normal world at another place.[42]

## 5 Ascending Again: *Stimmung* and 'Attunement'

If the description of the underworld puts so much emphasis on creating re-experience, we must conclude that prime importance is attached to the role of the recipient. After all, it is he at whom all these factors are directed and who is invited to adopt the position of the deictic center. The context of Theseus' report offers further evidence to confirm this impression when the pleasure of story telling is discussed before the report.[43] In a short conversation, Amphitruo encourages the hero to relate his and Hercules' deeds (650–657):

> TH. You force me to recount deeds fearful to my mind
> even in safety. I scarcely have sure trust as yet
> in the life-giving air; my eyesight is dimmed,
> and my dull vision can hardly bear the unaccustomed light.
> AM. Overcome such fear as remains lodged in your heart, Theseus.
> Do not cheat yourself of the best reward of toils:

41 For the famous distinction, see Lessing 1967 [1766], 90–102; cf. also Fowler 1991, 25–26; Grethlein 2013, 18.

42 Böhme 2000, 64.

43 In the messenger's report in the *Thyestes*, we find another reflection on reception but it is staged differently. While interacting with the chorus, the messenger makes the power he exerts over his listeners perceptible and so, steers their reception actively (cf. Winter 2014, 156–168).

it is sweet to recollect what was hard to endure.
Recount those fearful events.

TH. Memorare cogis acta securae quoque
horrenda menti. vix adhuc certa est fides
vitalis aurae, torpet acies luminum
hebetesque visus vix diem insuetum ferunt.
AM. Pervince, Theseu, quidquid alto in pectore
remanet pauoris neve te fructu optimo
frauda laborum: quae fuit durum pati,
meminisse dulce est. fare casus horridos.

Amphitruo points out to Theseus that he would miss the best part of such an adventure if he did not tell the tale. Even more, what was 'hard to endure' (*durum pati*) is, as he explains, 'sweet to recollect' (*meminisse dulce*), the oppositions neatly arranged in chiastic word order and separated by the enjambment. He therefore orders Theseus to transfer his experiences into a narrative (*fare*), indicating that the hardship (*casus horridos*) is being transformed into pleasure. The style and great length of Theseus' report suggests that Amphitruo's opinion on the pleasurable aspect of narrating is justified. But if we take into account Amphitruo's eagerness to listen to the story, it becomes evident that the delight affects the recipient as well. Obviously, both sides derive pleasure from vividly imagining death.[44]

Theseus' preceding refusal to speak of the underworld adds another important aspect: he claims that his eyes are not accustomed to normal daylight anymore and can hardly bear the sun. This statement corresponds to the end of the report where the upward journey is shown from the defamiliarizing perspective of Cerberus. There we learn that Cerberus experiences the same physical symptoms when Hercules drags him from hell, i.e., his eyes cannot endure the light, which causes him to hide in the hero's shadow (824–827).[45] Since the upper world is unfamiliar and unnatural for a creature from hell, Cerberus's reaction must be considered normal. For Theseus, however, the upper world is not unfamiliar and yet he is defamiliarized too because the environment that should be perfectly normal for him turns out to be unbearable. The fact that he does not

44 I thank Cynthia Damon for suggesting this very fitting phrase to me. Cf. also n. 49.

45 The choice of words in the description of the descent and of Cerberus' ascent is similar (e.g., 669: *tenuis relictae lucis nitor* and 813: *nitor lucis ignotae novus*; 652–653: *torpet acies luminum / hebetesque visus vix diem insuetum ferunt* and 824–825: *diem invisum expulit / aciemque retro flexit*).

fit anymore into the surroundings to which he actually belongs illustrates that the perceptual impressions of the underworld have consequences.

What we observe here is one of the preconceptions of *Stimmung* we have not considered so far: one meaning of the word deriving from the area of music is 'attunement' and expresses its communicative and spreading quality. Beneath the threshold of explicit formulation,[46] *Stimmung* disperses. Thus when Theseus encounters the same difficulties as Cerberus, he appears to be tinged by the dark and threatening *Stimmung* and attuned to the underworld landscape.[47]

Following Amphitruo's unconcerned confirmation, the recipient could simply rely on the safe distance of the 'as if'-mode[48]—even if the experience was *durum*, recalling it is *dulce* because of temporal and spatial distance.[49] But the context and the narration itself caution against this ease since they demonstrate that anybody who ventures down to the underworld will not get out again unaltered. When Theseus transforms his experience into a narrative, the narrative therefore becomes a *katabasis* in its own right.[50] The tale of how Hercules and Theseus cross the borders to the underworld also conveys the experience of descent to the recipient, carrying him down to the underworld. Additionally, the description not only recounts that there is a foreboding and threatening *Stimmung* in the realms of the dead, but also produces the same *Stimmung*,[51] which leads to a transgression of the boundary between conveyance and immediacy, too. If, as the description suggests, the recipient adopts the position of the deictic center, he will also very likely be affected or tinged by the experience he is meant to share.

The insinuation is even bleaker. Although Theseus initially does not want to tell his tale, his narration actually demonstrates intense pleasure in conjuring

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46 Wellbery 2003, 705.

47 Shelton 1978, 56 and Kirichenko 2013, 27 observe that the underworld journey has effects on Hercules because he brings infernal evil to the upper world but they do not mention the effect on Theseus.

48 Jauß 1982, 31–44, 85. Cf. also Grethlein 2013, 12–13.

49 Spatial and temporal distance is also the source of pleasure in Lucretius' famous scene of the shipwreck with spectator (Lucr. 2.1–13). The connection between pleasure and horror has inspired a long tradition in scholarship from antiquity to today: for an overview of the theoretical discussion of the topic in antiquity, cf. Seidensticker 1991; for the development in eighteenth-century aesthetics, cf. Zelle 1987; for the phenomenon in Senecan drama, cf. Wessels 2014 and Winter 2014.

50 Cf. Kirichenko 2013, 25.

51 Böhme 2013, 38.

up the foreboding place and its sinister *Stimmung*. In so far, Amphitruo is certainly right to claim that remembrance is sweet—but he should be much warier of it.

To make matters worse, the spreading aspect of *Stimmung* is increased by the fact that in Seneca's plays, the underworld is only opened but never closed again. Comparisons with the *Aeneid* and the *Metamorphoses* show that the underworld and the experience of passing through it are usually concluded or bring about a conclusion. Aeneas' underworld journey, for example, is, however briefly, brought to an end (Verg. *Aen.* 6.893–899) but also serves as a means of closure itself, of getting to terms with the past and leaving burdensome experiences behind to make a new beginning.[52] The underworld in the *Aeneid* therefore works like a storage room permeated with past and future, memory and teleology. In parts, this is also valid for the whole narrative because book 6 closes the first half of the *Aeneid*.[53]

Another mode of closure is shown in Ovid's passage on Tartarus, where Juno enters hell to raise Tisiphone. The way down is described in more detail than the way up but still, the way up *is* displayed, bringing about a satisfactory ending (Ov. *Met.* 4.479–480): 'Rejoicing, Juno returned. When she was about to enter heaven, Thaumas' daughter Iris purified her with drops of dew' (*laeta redit Iuno; quam caelum intrare parantem / roratis lustravit aquis Thaumantias Iris*). Significantly, Juno is ritually purged of the place she was never meant to visit. Thereby the narrative enforces the laws of the world order and allows the recipient to be reassured of them.

In Senecan plays, the underworld neither is closed nor does it provide closure to anything. A short example is provided in the *Oedipus*, where the underworld is opened for Tiresias' necromancy (530–547/670) but not closed afterwards. In the *Thyestes*, we find an even more compelling example when the way down to the infernal recesses of Atreus' palace is depicted in detail (641–681)—but never the way up. Instead, after the messenger has described the hellish environment in which Atreus slaughters and cooks his nephews, he ends his report with an apostrophe to Thyestes, who is eating his own children. This image works as a crossfade to the fifth act, which starts with eating Thyestes, who is being observed by his brother.[54] Nowhere is the recipient led out of the gloomy place in which he was so cautiously placed. In the *Hercules Furens*, we

52 Platthaus 2004, 106–109. Ker 2009, 135–136 similarly considers the underworld in Senecan plays to be 'a locus of past time … and of the future …'.

53 Cf. also Platthaus 2004, 117–122.

54 Winter 2014, 164. As indicated above, the full impact of the plays is only unveiled when they are read as a unity.

find the only description of an escape from down there but it is given in such a defamiliarized way that it denies the recipient any feeling of relief. What is missing here is the impression of having left the terrible place and breathing freely again. Instead, the way up implies much more pain than the way down. For the recipient of Seneca's plays, there is no expiation, no rite to get rid of the hellish blight.

This is a new aspect in the literary tradition of representing the underworld. Seneca's descriptions do follow the traditional iconography and partly develop it further but generally provide a different focal point. All characters who conjure up the underworld emphasize the vividness and 'immersive' quality of the place by evoking the gloomy and threatening *Stimmung* Seneca's descriptions are famous for. Traditional motifs like the types of birds or trees are inserted into this mode of description to create the emotional quality of the underworld: the allegorical figures, for example, are specifically threatening to the human *phusis*; the swamp is not only dark and foul but specifically motionless and thus contributing to the timelessness of the place. The recipient is unwittingly attuned to the underworld experience and tinged by the *Stimmung* that is evoked through the disturbing and defamiliarizing contact with the landscape. Thus the narrators prepare the recipient for the dreadful events. Since the place and experience are not concluded, the recipient cannot avoid transferring the underworld to the upper world and into the subsequent events.[55]

## 6 Conclusion

From this analysis, we may conclude that the description of the underworld in Seneca's plays serves a twofold role with regard to the recipient: first, it is meant to express something inherently indescribable and convey an experience that can never be had and told of afterwards—the encounter with death. As we have seen, death, the ultimate *telos*, does not have a *telos* itself and can therefore not be represented in terms of an action or temporal sequence. This is why in his version of the realms of death, Seneca explicitly focuses on the representation and experience of space. In so doing, he utilizes elementary and

55 A parallel but also inverted situation is shown at the beginning of the *Thyestes*. The ghost of Tantalus is transferred from the underworld to his former house and, forced to spread there, causes the—animated—environment to recoil from his sight (cf. Winter 2014, 249–253).

familiar notions like corporality and spatial perception and enriches them with incongruous and improper elements in order to bring about a defamiliarizing effect.

Second, the recipient is affected by the *Stimmung* that is told and created at the same time; he is 'attuned' to the place, its vagueness and threatening and foreboding quality. Though hardly noticing the process, he cannot get rid of the *Stimmung* once he is affected. Since the narration does not arrive at a proper closure, it denies any sense of relief.

In this way, the *Stimmung* of the underworld is transferred to the subsequent scenes of the play. In this sense, it is reasonable to state, as scholars have done, that Seneca's set pieces create 'atmosphere' and provide a backdrop for the dreadful events in the play. It has to be acknowledged, though, that this powerful effect is much more active than previously assumed. Theseus demonstrates that the landscape of the underworld is not a harmless background painted to fill the margins around a central scene.

One further aspect has to be taken into account. The lengthy description and its function touch on a generic problem: descriptions belong to narrative genres rather than to drama and Seneca obviously relies on epic models and an epic technique, introducing them into the dramatic mode. Descriptions interrupt the dramatic plot in the same way they interrupt a narrative plot and suspend the temporal sequence of action, i.e., the drive towards the *telos* of the narrative.

But the mechanism of suspension is special in Senecan plays. The plot is indeed interrupted by a descriptive element which belongs to epic poetry rather than to tragedy.[56] But the pause in the temporal sequence of action is not just inserted to create suspense and so heighten the drive towards the end; rather, it is meant to imperceptibly attune and prepare the recipient in a specific way for the horrific crimes that are about to follow. The *Stimmung* of the underworld, not so much its content or proposition, is transferred to the subsequent plot: by means of this, the sense of foreboding and threat, which is invariably directed at the things to come, can exert its impact. To this end, it is not only narrative that interrupts the dramatic course of action but also vice versa: the dramatic mode interrupts the narrative and steals away the expected and proper closure of the underworld journey. This is how the 'dead end' of the underworld landscape indeed creates an unexpected openness of narrative and experience.

56 On epic elements in Senecan tragedy in general, see Schiesaro 2003, 243–251. Cf. Allendorf 2013, 133–134; Ker 2009, 137.

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# PART 3

## *The Sacred*

CHAPTER 7

# Birds around the Temple: Constructing a Sacred Environment

*Margaret M. Miles*

## 1 Introduction

Why were Greek temples built just where they were within the distinctive landscapes of Greece? What caused their founding, and how was a numinous ambience created and enhanced in the setting of the sanctuaries? These are old questions, and motives or explanations may not be fully recoverable (even when ancient authors claim to be providing them), yet the intersection of numinosity and practicality is worthy of further exploration. In this chapter I discuss recent work on the setting and orientation of temples of the archaic and classical periods, and the implications of their visibility in particular landscapes (section 2) and seascapes (section 3). I then address the immediate green environment around temples (section 4), the plants and animals that made them vivid for human visitors (section 5), and the sensory ambience that contributed to their experiences (section 6). I argue that above all, readily perceptible expressions of locality, of particularity, of what is distinctive and even unique emerge from this brief survey, rather than a set of demonstrable general principles of foundation.

The Mediterranean landscape, with a dramatically long and variegated coastline, and pocketed mountainous interiors, seems almost to have invited local responses from inhabitants. Cultural formation depended on connectivities between micro-regions: this does not encourage completely homogenous cultural production.[1] In such a varied landscape, the degree of conformity and cohesion among sanctuaries astonishes, rather than the plethora of exceptions.

1 A major theme in Horden and Purcell 2000, Broodbank 2013. Various ideations of the concept 'landscape' are given in Knapp and Ashmore 1999; seascape, Cooney 2003.

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## 2 Landscape

### 2.1 *Setting, Site, and Orientation*

Three aspects of the particular location of temples had to be decided by ancient builders: the *setting* depended on ownership of the territory, and on whether it was urban or rural, on the coast or in mountains, on heavily trafficked roads or remote and difficult of access. If it was close to a border or a frontier, the setting had a potential political expression. The precise *site* chosen for a sanctuary might have been inspired by any number of spiritual and practical factors: particular physical features came to give a sanctuary its character and color, such as proximate springs, a cave, a sacred tree or groves, significant rocky outcrops, and heroic burials. Remembered events, such as epiphanies or instructions from a deity, are known in some instances, but many sites must have been perceived as sacred in long-term communal memory without specific rationale, or perhaps with retrospective explanations. Urban sanctuaries in new (and ideal) cities were situated in relationship with other necessary social and political functions. The *orientation* of a temple, typically the most important building in a sanctuary, could be aligned with celestial phenomena or events, with landscape features in the near, middle or distant horizon, or with previous or still existing structures (altars or temples)—or a combination of these. How the temple would look from afar, and what views could be had from its steps or porch also affected placement. I give here a brief overview of notable scholarly treatment of these three aspects of location.

From Göbekli Tepe in Neolithic Turkey to Egyptian pyramids and Stonehenge, many ancient sacred structures were deliberately positioned with an orientation to celestial phenomena, thus anchoring them in a larger cosmic and temporal setting. Such alignments are readily demonstrable, although the intentions of the builders have been interpreted variously. A UNESCO handbook published in 2010–2011 lists such early monuments built in 39 countries, now considered heritage sites.[2] Given the wide spatial and chronological framework of these human efforts to correlate built structures with celestial phenomena, it seems worthwhile to ask to what extent were archaic and classical Greek temples positioned with orientations to celestial phenomena? Serious efforts to address this question were begun already in the nineteenth century, notably by Nissen in 1869, and by Penrose, that most astute and care-

2 Ruggles and Cotte 2010–2011; Ruggles 2015a, in three volumes, provides entries on sites globally.

ful observer of the Parthenon, and the issue was taken up again by Dinsmoor in the 1930s.[3]

The working assumption of those initial investigators was that Greek architects must have followed the model of Egyptian architecture, especially for temples, some of which were oriented so that the rays of the rising sun illuminated the interior on a particular, significant day. The Temple of Ramses II at Abu Simbel, for example, was carved into a cliff-face with an eastern orientation so that on October 20 and February 20, the rising sun falls on three of four rupestral statues in the rear sanctuary of the temple, including that of Ramses, but does not ever illuminate the face of Ptah, god of the underworld.[4] It is still possible to observe this, since the original orientation was maintained when the temple was cut into pieces and moved in anticipation of the construction of the Aswan dam (1965). Those days in February and October are thought to be Ramses' coronation or birthday, or, more probably, his thirtieth-anniversary jubilee.[5]

The initial studies of the orientation of Greek temples failed: they yielded extreme dates for the temples that were not in accord with the growing archaeological evidence, they introduced a false precision, and the underlying assumptions were never examined closely. Dinsmoor, seeking a method to obtain precise dates for Greek temples, took up the study of temple-orientation, even though it was 'already discredited'.[6] He argues that the basic principle of the earlier studies is correct but its application was not, and he tries to rectify this with detailed correlations between the axis of the rising sun on deities' birthdays, ancient lunar calendars, and our current Gregorian calendar. To do this required speculative etymologies, creative emendations, and heavy epigraphical restorations: Dinsmoor emerges from these smoky conjectures hold-

3 Nissen 1869, 1906–1910; Penrose 1892; Dinsmoor 1939. For a more detailed analysis of the early studies and further bibliography, Boutsikas and Ruggles 2011.

4 The deities from left to right are Ptah, Amun-Re, Ramses II (deified), Re-Horakhty; only the left shoulder of Ptah gets a bit of sunlight: Noblecourt 2007, 123–124; description of temple: Badawy 1968, 304–314; on orientations of Egyptian temples, Belmonte 2015.

5 Many Egyptian temples and tombs have a notably precise celestial orientation (solar or stellar), with three specific targets: the stars of Meskhetyu (Ursa Maior), the sun, and the bright stars Sirius and Canopus (Belmonte 2015, 1506); orientation to the Nile was equally significant or more significant for some groups of temples. On orientation and symbolism in Egyptian architecture: Badawy 1968, 183–189; Arnold 2003, 167–168, 235–236; Belmonte 2015, with further bibliography.

6 Dinsmoor 1939, 95–96, where he explains why he investigated a method 'already discredited'.

ing on to firm and precise chronological conclusions he applies to the dating of temples. His methods for calendrical equations were not accepted, although his dates for temples derived from them (and reiterated in his handbook of 1950) became embedded in scholarship and are still repeated. His ideas about orientation, however, have been boiled down in other handbooks to the simple assertion that most Greek temples faced east, so that the deities' birthday or festival day could be honored with a sunrise.

Many Greek temples do face east, and a solar correlation could have been intended by the builders, but axial directions of temples vary by region. Recent studies have established substantial samples of orientations, although they do not include all known temples. One study by Boutsikas on 107 ancient temples within the area of modern Greece shows that some 58% face east, while a separate study by Salt of temples in Sicily, where traditional axes presumably were not a factor in laying out new temples, shows that 40 out of 41 Greek temples studied face east, broadly defined.[7] This is a sharp reminder of the deep significance of the much earlier predecessor-shrines on many mainland sites, some of them traceable to the Bronze Age. Where a long occupation left any trace, the archaeological record proves that continuity of sacred place was an imperative for Greek architects. In mainland Greece, one temple clearly oriented to capture a sunrise is the Temple of Apollo at Bassae, whose entrance faces north on a long north-south axis, and a large, framed, door-like window on its east side lets in the sun.[8] Although large, the door-like window was not meant for egress, since an iron grid prevented passage and its sill was 0.648 m high. The eastern window in the wall is a feature repeated from its archaic predecessors.[9] On a mid-summer day, the rising rays illuminate the far rear

7 Boutsikas 2007–2008, Salt 2009; see below for further comments on the placement of temples in the Greek west. Dinsmoor gave the percentage as 73% of 110 temples, based on Nissen's study, oriented within 60° of east, but this included a broad geographical range, both modern Italy and modern Greece (1939, 115–116, with Fig. 3).

8 Cooper 1996, 218–228. One other classical peripteral temple has a side door, that of Athena Alea at Tegea (fourth century BCE); the door faced north toward a nearby spring.

9 Cooper 1968; 1996, 137. The orientation of the axis goes back to the seventh century BCE; the foundations of the archaic temple (I/II) have an opening in the eastern wall of the adyton interpreted as a door (Kelly 1995). Cooper states that the position of the sixth flank column from the south façade was slightly altered to enhance the width of the sun's ray; moreover, for an initial few minutes, the column bifurcates the sunlight into two strips, one appearing on the center of the rear wall, behind the freestanding Corinthian column, and then the light is focused on the corner (Cooper 1968, 106, 108–111, Pls. 39–40). The temple is now covered with a tent.

(southwestern) corner of the adyton, where the corner pavement slab is slightly raised and more firmly based than the adjacent slabs—currently somewhat sunken—and the slab probably supported a statue. For twenty minutes once a year, a statue of Apollo Epikourios could stand in a long solar beam. The sun would then move beyond the doorjambs and only ambient light filled the adyton.

## 2.2 *The Nighttime Sky of Greece*

As moderns most of us have lost the daily immediacy of the nighttime sky because of extreme light pollution, but in antiquity the nighttime sky was crucial for navigation at sea, and predicting seasonal changes and weather patterns for farmers. Weather prediction based on the phases of fixed stars developed into a complex system tracked with *parapêgmata*, inscribed records marked with pegs; numerous examples are preserved.[10] Mythological narratives about catasterisms brought stars and constellations into the extended heroic Greek family, and were widely known. This is reflected not only in poetic references: a large Corinthianizing skyphos of ca. 625 BCE, dedicated in a sanctuary at Halae, for example, shows a sequence of animals best interpreted as representing constellations, and they are in the proper order.[11] As temporal markers, constellations served as a calendar heralding the celebration of annual sequences of festivals, and some of them were celebrated at night. The identification of particular constellations relevant to known deities and festivals is the current focus in the study of orientations. Equipped with dazzling software that recreates the skies of the past, archaeoastronomers have re-opened discussion of celestial phenomena as a guide for siting and orientation in Greek sanctuaries.[12] Because of the precessions of the constellations, calculations must be made to depict the nighttime sky of a given date, formerly carried out only laboriously and imprecisely. We can now reconstruct confidently and precisely a significant part of the visual environment of antiquity, and the far more accurate data the new methods yield are interpreted with a theoretical rigor that was missing from earlier efforts.

Thus the carefully argued correlations seem persuasive, and the heliacal risings coincide when they should: of Delphinus at Delphi, of the Pleiades over

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10 Stars for calendars, weather, catalogue and illustrations of *parapêgmata*: Lehoux 2007; ancient astronomy: Evans 1998, 3–74; on navigation, Pimenta 2015; on time in religion, Davidson 2007.

11 Barnes 2014; on the origins and transmission of constellations, Evans 1998, 39–44; Frank 2015.

12 Boutsikas and Ruggles 2011, Boutsikas 2015, Ruggles 2015b, 2015c.

the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta, of Draco for the Panathenaea, visible from the east porch of the Erechtheion, and this newly rigorous line of study has considerable potential for understanding orientations of sanctuaries within the landscape. The heliacal rising of the Hyades (the catasterism for the daughters of Erechtheus) in the eastern horizon over Mt. Hymettus, for example, coincided with the celebration of the Arrhephoria: Boutsikas and Hannah bring together the evidence for this in the context of the Acropolis, in particular the Erechtheion.[13] In the archaeoastronomical work published so far, the stellar phenomena do not determine axes of temples (as they do for Egyptian pyramids), but general orientations. Multiple reasons for commemorating or building up a spot could be cited, especially for as complex a building as the Erechtheion, that included not only the tomb of Cecrops, but also marks of a trident, a salt spring, and an adjacent olive tree, all 'proofs' (τεκμήρια) of divine interventions. A divine trajectory (of either a trident or thunderbolt) is maintained and commemorated by an aperture through the roof of the north porch, framed in marble.[14] The stars (and the sun) could mark time and space, and the *tekmêria* attested to divine causation; a sanctuary brings together time, space, and causation.

### 2.3 *Terrestrial Considerations*

Conical mounds, solitary or horned peaks, clefts, aggressive virile cones, and breast-like hills in the distant, middle or near horizon were taken by Greek architects as anthropomorphic symbols or even manifestations of deities' bodies, and they aligned their temples with such features, in Vincent Scully's view (1962). Rather than celestial bodies or events, Scully urges that terrestrial features were the primary focal points for significant built structures, beginning with Minoan palaces and continuing with Greek temples from the post-Bronze Age period onward. But such features in the Greek landscape are ubiquitous: stand anywhere you like and you will see them. With no apparent system for selection, his observations seem subjective, and we lack historical evidence for the conjectured symbolism, hence his interpretive framework has not won support.[15] Yet travelers to sites in Greece will readily agree with Scully's many

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13 Boutsikas and Hannah 2012. For literary allusions to the Pleiades and Hyades (e.g., in Alcman's *Parthenion*), see G. Ferrari 2008, including identifications of scenes in Greek vase-painting which show dancing women, metaphorical for dancing stars; cf. Bowie 2011, who sees the Pleiades (or Peleades) in Alcman as harpy-like Sirens.

14 The original, distinctive ceiling coffer adjacent to the aperture is now in the British Museum: Jenkins 2006, 122–124, Figs. 110–111.

15 Critiques of Scully 1962: Thompson 1963, Scranton 1963, Jameson 1965.

incisive aesthetic comments about the striking beauty and appropriateness (intuitively appreciated) of temple locations in the larger landscape.

De Polignac's work on the political and territorial implications of the placement of sanctuaries, especially those in extra-urban locations near borders, stimulated renewed scrutiny of the political dimension of the positioning of sanctuaries, now a standard consideration.[16] The kinds of interactions he investigates (mediation, competition, expressions of sovereignty) in some places became overtly hostile, as we see in the case of the contested Amphiaraon at Oropus on the northwestern border of Attica, at times Theban, otherwise Athenian. At stake was not only the healing sanctuary—of high repute, to judge from the numerous dedications left by prominent Roman visitors in the first century BCE and second CE—but also control over the nearby port that gave ready access across the gulf to Eretria on Euboea. The setting of the sanctuary enhanced its value as territory. It should be noted too that a great many rural shrines and sacred places had no monumental architecture (my focus here), and left slight or no visible archaeological footprints, even though their existence may be inferred from epigraphical evidence or posited from surface surveys.[17]

The very soil of sanctuaries might have guided correlations with deities: the typical composition of soil relative to the deity of the sanctuary varies in patterns that can be explained by the deity's practical domain. In one study, soil-samples from some 84 sanctuaries of the classical period in modern Greece, the Aegean area and Cyprus were collected and correlated with the deities to whom the sanctuaries were known to have been dedicated.[18] Retallack divides the deities into groups by types of economies or occupation: city dweller (Athena and Zeus), hunter (Artemis and Apollo), herder (Hera and Hermes), family farmer (Demeter and Dionysus), fisher (Aphrodite and Poseidon), etc. He finds that the soil types do have a consistent correlation, such as the clay soils (Xeralfs) suited to cattle grazing near sanctuaries of Hermes and Hera, and fertile soils (Xerolls) near sanctuaries of Dionysus and Demeter. As a pedologist, Retallack gives due consideration to the likely changes in the environment since antiquity. His correlations between deity and landscape, testable even today,

16 De Polignac 1984, 1994, 1995; his 1984 book prompted the essays in Alcock and Osborne 1994.

17 This point and methods for analysis are addressed by Jameson 2004, with the Argolid as a case study. On the 'functions' of temples, Burkert 1988; on political aspects of placement, Schachter 1992; on economic considerations in location, Sinn 1996; locations in Athens and demes of sanctuaries, Parker 2005, 50–78.

18 Retallack 2008.

are supported by Rackham's observations about the enduring ecology of Greek landscapes (at least until ca. 1900).[19] The results of the soil analysis corroborate common sense, but have little predictive value. More useful are the efforts to understand why sanctuaries were placed on the basis of the well-established personalities and interests of the deities, as articulated in ancient literature.[20]

Divine guidance seems the most cited reason in antiquity for founding a temple in a particular location: sometimes with specific instructions, such as those given by Demeter at Eleusis, or Apollo at Delphi, as articulated in their *Homeric Hymns*. The idea of 'discovering' or 'creating' divine spaces is explicitly articulated in Greek literature.[21] Such divine guidance was the most prestigious of motives for construction and commemoration and is usually noted for the most prestigious sanctuaries, believed to be fashioned to a perceptible, grand cosmic rhythm. At Delphi, not only location but the early temples themselves were said to be a result of creation by forces of nature, or divine or heroic hands: Pindar's eighth *Paean* (Rutherford B2) narrates in detail a sequence of temples at Delphi, a sequence narrated and critiqued much later by Pausanias (10.5.9–13). The early temples were of laurel, then beeswax and feathers, then bronze, followed by three successive temples of stone.[22] We also hear of new constructions of temples by private individuals, such as Themistocles' temple of Artemis Aristoboule, Telemachus' founding of the Asclepieum in Athens, Xenophon's of the temple dedicated to Artemis Ephesia in Elis, thus illustrating the scope for individuals with sufficient resources to be moved to create new divine spaces.

Aesthetic considerations for the siting of temples are extrapolated by Stillwell, who points to the general characteristics of their locations: temples often are placed high up on hills or promontories; views of temples appear and vanish as one approaches, then become visible once more from entrances placed so that the temples are seen in three-quarter view, with no marked axial directive either from afar or nearby (as in mature Roman architecture). The three-quarter view enhanced the three-dimensionality of the temple, showing an awareness of the potential flattening-effect of the luminous atmosphere under the Mediterranean sun. The temples tend to be somewhat set apart within the sanctuary, isolated so as to emphasize the overall geometrical form of the build-

19 Rackham 1990, 1996, Grove and Rackham 2001.

20 Cole's treatment of Artemis models how this can be done (2004, 178–197).

21 Divine guidance: Burkert 1996, 27–29; discovering divine spaces: Cole 2004, 37–50; on epiphanies in hymns: Platt 2011, 60–72.

22 The symbolism of the sequence is discussed, e.g., by Sourvinou-Inwood 1979; Rutherford 2001, 216–225; Porter 2010, 436–440.

ings.[23] These general observations are supported further by Carpenter, who provides what is still the fullest commentary on the aesthetics of Greek architectural forms, especially temples; such sites as just described enhanced the perception of the characteristic planar surfaces of temples, their readable proportions, and commensurate parts (συμμετρία).[24]

The majority of Greek temples built in the archaic and classical periods seem placed, designed, and furnished for the ongoing, cyclical experiences of devotees and for the benefit of the local community (both spiritually and politically), in a great variety of settings. In urban settings, everyday interactions with deities were provided by neighborhood and central shrines and temples. Local calendars included monthly and annual events that could bind together urban centers with more distant communities, such as the festivals of Artemis Brauronia and Artemis Tauropolos in Attica, and they enhanced regional relationships: Thorikos in Attica demonstrated neighborly respect by offering a lamb to Poseidon at Sounion during the month Boedromion.[25]

### 2.4 *New and Ideal Cities: Where Shall I Found Temples?*

The locations of sanctuaries in the relatively new Greek cities beyond the areas of mainland Greece, the Aegean, and the west coast of Asia Minor may illustrate selection of sacred place without the necessary burden of fixed tradition. Sicily and southern Italy in particular offer a wealth of sacred sites, with both archaeological and literary evidence for their founding in the eighth century BCE and later.[26] Most of the excavated cities in southern Italy and Sicily show a grid plan for private housing, punctuated in various ways by open spaces for public use, including the agora and sanctuaries, and most of them have in addition extra-urban or peripheral sanctuaries. Malkin's pioneering study of motivations for locations of urban and suburban sanctuaries yielded deductions that he compares usefully with subsequent utopian ideas about new foundations.[27] He argues that placement for urban and suburban sanctuaries did not depend

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23 Stillwell 1954.

24 Carpenter 1959, 100–158. See also Pollitt 1974, s.v. ῥυθμός, εὐρυθμία, συμμετρία; Porter 2010, 435–444 on literary testimonia for aesthetics and architecture.

25 Artemis: Cole 2004, 194–197; Artemis Tauropolos: McInerney 2015, 305–309; Thorikos calendar: Lupu 2005, no. 1, lines 19–20.

26 Good overviews of the evidence: di Vita 1996, Mertens and Greco 1996, Greco 2002, Mertens 2006, 46–55, 157–170, 172–190.

27 Malkin 1987, 137–148, 183–186. Veronese 2006 catalogues sanctuaries of archaic Sicily and charts their spatial distribution using presumed political factors; she concludes that variety of expression and regionality are characteristic in Sicily.

on perceived 'inherent sacredness' of site, nor is there much evidence that the locations were inherited from 'native' cult spots, but instead, the criteria exercised were similar to those used for laying out grid systems and planning towns. While the oracle of Apollo at Delphi was credited (at least retrospectively) with general advice and approval of locations, detailed instructions for the placement of temples were not given, only religious authority. The choice of place for temples was a decision made by the *oikistês* (official founder), and such was the weight of this responsibility that the founder's role was marked by treating him as a hero after his death. Although Malkin excludes rural and border sanctuaries from his analysis, he notes that perceptions of 'inherent sacredness' were probably a factor in their selection, where specific features of the landscape such as caves, springs, rock formations, etc., inspired the creation of sanctuaries.

The general principles of selection adduced by Malkin include separation of sanctuaries from the normal bustle of civic areas; practical concerns such as nearby roadways and communications so that temples are sited to clarify patterns; prominence and visibility. These points agree with comments in Plato's *Laws* about how an ideal founder should divide the spaces of his city and place sanctuaries within its divisions, and Aristotle's discussion in *Politics* about the best topography, setting, features, and arrangements within an ideal city (including brief remarks on where temples should be placed with respect to agoras, habitation areas, harbors, and fortifications).[28] Hölscher's commentaries on planning concur with the emphasis on the designation of space according to purpose and use, and he includes the necropoleis into the discussion (not mentioned by Plato or Aristotle).[29] He sees broad parallels in archaic *poleis* throughout the Mediterranean that include a tripartite division of public (or common) space, for temples, for the agora, and for cemeteries; he notes that in many cities, a set of axes may be observed that link these areas. Local topography may require adjustment in the specific placement of one or more of the three, such as the agora near the harbor on Thasos with major sanctuaries up on the acropolis behind it, or the high ridge with temples at Agrigento that frames the lower and upper agoras within its circuit.

For the orientations of specific temples, Salt calculated the axes of 41 selected temples in Agrigento, Gela, Helorus, Heracleia Minoa, Himera, Megara Hyblaea, Naxos, Selinous, and Syracuse and found that 40 of them face east within the range of the rising sun (59° to 119°); his anodyne conclusion is that

28 E.g., Pl. *Leg*. 5.745b–e, 6.778b–779d, 8.848c–e; Arist. *Pol*. 7.1329b–1331b.

29 Hölscher 1998, 2005.

these consistent orientations reflect the cosmology of the time of founding, seventh through fifth centuries BCE.[30] Yet as we have seen, the eastward orientations could be attributed to stellar rather than solar coordinations, or perhaps both; this has yet to be researched. 'East' might have had an affective pull, as the direction of the cultural homeland, of Delphi, Olympia, Ephesus.

The roofs of temples in Sicily and southern Italy are especially flamboyant from the early archaic period onward, articulated with colorful, heavy simas, enormous terracotta gorgoneia in pediments, large upright ridge-palmettes that cast sharp profiles against the sky. Visibility in the landscape is a salient feature of many Greek temples throughout the Mediterranean: one could point to a natural assumption that summoning the presence of a deity should be done from on high, something we see in many religions globally; a high altitude also gives the advantage of marking a territory with a cultural banner. The 'fifth façade' of the Greek temple (its roof and roofline) was everywhere noticeable, vivid with akroteria and serried sculpted shapes. It was in the Greek west that architectural sculpture on the upper elevation of the vertical façades first became prominent. Builders in Asia Minor and mainland Greece (Ephesus, Didyma, Athens, Delphi, Olympia) were quick to adopt marble roofs soon after they began to be created by the Naxian and Parian islanders, so that the fifth façade, shining white with sharp profiles, became even more distinctive as the cap of the largest and grandest built object in the environment.[31]

## 3 Seascape: Sanctuaries on Sea Routes

The placement of sanctuaries alongside or near difficult sea routes in the Aegean offers a fresh, sea-based perspective on the locations of Greek sanctuaries. Geographer Ellen Churchill Semple published a brief but perceptive survey of 'templed promontories' in 1927, the first effort to obtain a broad picture of the phenomena. On the basis of literary testimonia, she plotted some 175 temples, shrines and altars around the Mediterranean, with a wide chrono-

30 Salt 2009, 4.

31 The roof of a building as its 'fifth façade' is credited to the Danish architect Jørn Utzon, in interviews he gave about the roofline of his design for the Opera House in Sydney. The concept is readily applicable to Greek temples. For Greek architectural terracottas, Winter 1993; for early temple sculpture in Sicily, Marconi 2007; development of island marble roofs, Ohnesorg 1993.

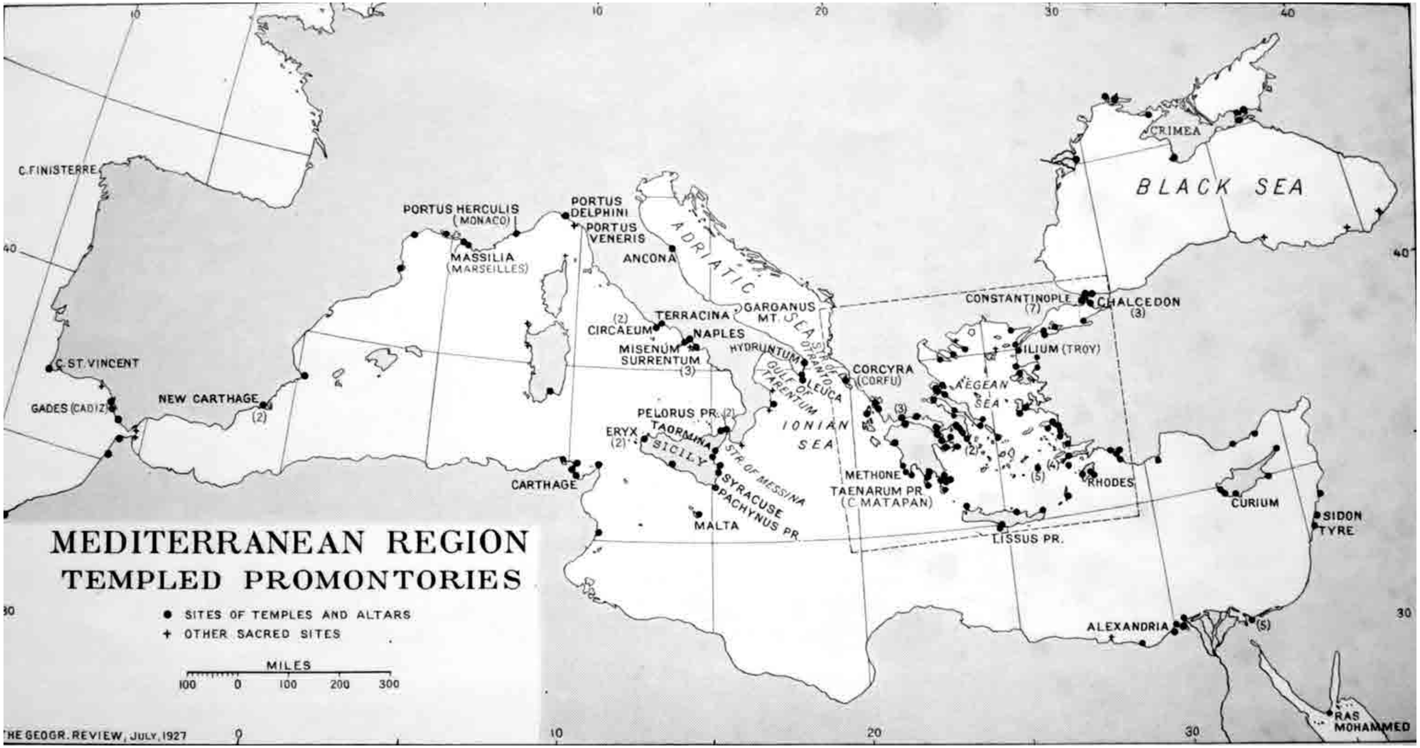


FIGURE 7.1 *Location of Templed Promontories of the Mediterranean Region*
SEMPLE 1927, FIG. 3; SEMPLE 1931, MAP 12

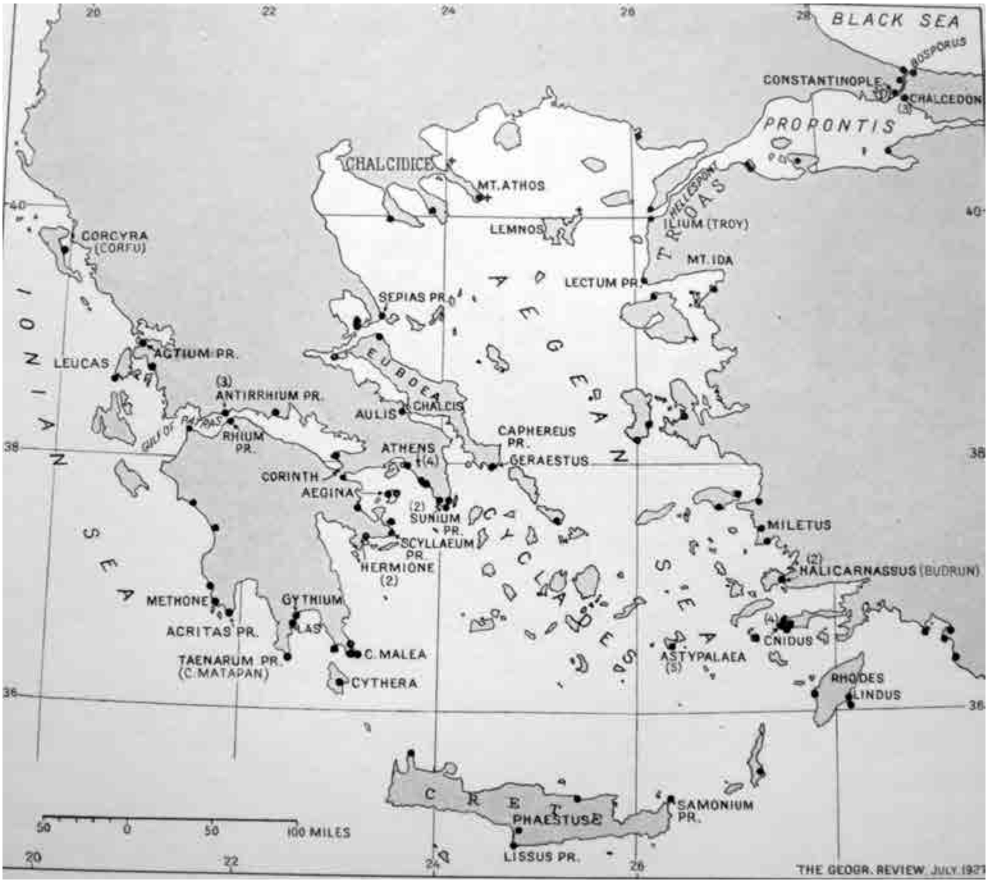


FIGURE 7.2 *Templed Promontories along the Aegean Routes*
SEMPLE 1927, FIG. 4; SEMPLE 1931, MAP 13

logical range (see Figs. 7.1 and 7.2).[32] Extensive recent work on the Mediterranean illuminates sea routes, the grain trade, and regional economies, kinship and religious networks.[33] Of interest here are the sanctuaries, shrines and memorials founded and maintained alongside the expansion of maritime commerce: the two networks, religious and practical, have a considerable and natural overlap. Building shrines, temples and even maintaining a few light-

32 Semple 1927, Figs. 3–4, reprinted as Chapter 21 in Semple 1931, 613–637; she does not give specific references, but rather a list of Greek and Latin authors as a part of the caption for her Fig. 3.

33 E.g., sea routes: Broodbank 2013; grain trade: Moreno 2007; local economies: Rutishauser 2012; networks: Malkin 2011.

houses was a long-term, communal endeavor, not just for the benefit of locals, but rather for all travelers. The result was an informal network by and for communities dependent on sailing: sailors in every age are known for their transnational sense of fraternity in the face of shared, constant danger at sea. Many of the seaside temples were dedicated to Poseidon, and famously offered asylum to refugees, although other deities also offered protection, especially Aphrodite, the Dioscuri, the Great Gods at Samothrace, and in the Hellenistic period and later, Isis. The placement of temples on dangerous passageways illustrates the convergence of the utilitarian and the spiritual, for temples in a prominent position in the landscape could be sighted from sea as coastal markers, and the deity invoked for safe passage.

In the Aegean, my focus here, sea travel was always hazardous and unpredictable, and was avoided by most sailors during the winter. Hesiod, although declaring himself not fond of sailing, recommends that others sail in autumn, beginning fifty days after the summer solstice but returning before the time of the new wine, autumn rains, and the fierce gales of Notos, or again in spring (*Op.* 663–682). Violent seas and winds, the force of sudden squalls, and lurking monsters of the deep were always possibilities: the experience of Odysseus is exemplary, and not fully imaginary. Sea routes became well-established because they offered potential for enormous profit, through trade and seasonal tuna hunts.[34]

Sea routes came into existence as a result of accumulated bad experience, yet a certain degree of predictability made them possible. Evidence for them is provided by literary testimonia, by shipwrecks, by the temples and shrines on headlands that served as markers, and by the sea-patterns that still exist. Many set voyages in the *Odyssey* take place at night, and navigation by stars was essential since compasses were not yet known, although there is evidence for magnetite or lodestones that might have been more than just curiosities. The earliest preserved *Periplous* by Pseudo-Scylax is dated to the mid-fourth century BCE, but earlier ones are attested.[35] Pseudo-Scylax emphasizes cities and harbors in his geographical circuit of the Mediterranean, but he does also mention many temples (especially those to Poseidon) and two monuments to famous sailors, Elpenor and Canopus (8; 106.5). The general pattern of outflow of colder water from the Hellespont and back-swirl from the Atlantic created counter-clockwise currents within the Aegean, coming down from the

34 On shipping lanes established by geography, weather, current, and winds, see Horden and Purcell 2000, 137–143; sea routes in the fifth century BCE indicated by shipwrecks, Carlson 2013.

35 Shipley 2011, 4–8; as Shipley notes, the text reads more like a geographical or hodological exercise than a pilot; Scylax (late sixth century BCE): Hdt. 4.44.

north-east to the south-west and south-east. The currents bifurcate around the Cyclades and curl southwest beyond Crete to the African coast. While tides in most of the Mediterranean are minor, and normal currents can cause some dangers at sea, it is winds above all, in combination with currents and coastal land masses, that made the sea perilous. Boreas was claimed and domesticated as an Athenian son-in-law (his wife Oreithyia was the daughter of Erechtheus) with good reason (Hdt. 7.189).

Within the Aegean, four perilous passages stand out (Fig. 7.3). The easternmost peninsula of the Chalcidice extends some 50 km into the northern Aegean with the sharp cone of Mt. Athos (2,033 m) rising as its headland, surrounded by a steep, rocky coastline. Herodotus narrates the disaster in 492 BCE for Darius' fleet as it attempted to round Mt. Athos, where some 300 ships and 20,000 men were reported lost to a strong northern wind that dashed ships and men against the rocks; sharks and the inability to swim destroyed the rest (Hdt. 6.44). Although that episode in the Persian Wars is the best-known disaster at sea in the area, the mass of Mt. Athos (which intensified winds consistently) makes all sailors beware of the passage around it. One of the earliest excavated lighthouses, a sixth-century BCE circular tower with a dedicatory inscription, was built on the east side of Thasos, a protection from the northeastern winds that can beat in from the Black Sea. It is one of three known contemporary circular towers that may have formed a signaling system for the potentially treacherous passage around the northeast coast of the island, subject to the same fierce winds that beat against Mt. Athos.[36]

Xerxes' response to the disaster at the foot of Mt. Athos was to punish the landscape itself by digging a canal through the Acte peninsula, just south of Acanthus.[37] This feat of engineering, of changing the very landscape so that men could 'sail across the land' was considered an act of hubristic pride by Herodotus, intended to display power and create memory (7.22–24). Despite

36 Lighthouse tower of Aceratus, perhaps his tomb or cenotaph as well: 'I am the monument of Aceratus, son of Phrasierides. / I am here, at the point of the harbor, a protective signal for ships and sailor. / But farewell.' ([Ἀ]κηράτου ε[ἰ]μὶ μνῆμα τοῦ Φ[ρασ]ιηρίδου, / κεῖμαι δ' ἐπ' [ἄ]κρου ναυσ[τ]ά[θ]μου σωτήρ[ι]ον / νηυσίν τε κα[ὶ ν]αύτῃσιν· ἀλλὰ [χ]αίρετ[ε].) (*IG* XII,8 683), Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 158–159; for the system, Koželj and Wurch-Koželj 1989. Mt. Athos: Aeschylus has Clytaemnestra name the peak of Mt. Athos as the site of the third beacon in her signal-relay that gave the news of the fall of Troy (*Ag.* 281–315). Diodorus (13.41.1–3) reports the Spartan loss of 50 ships against Mt. Athos in 411 BCE, and cites an inscription noted by Ephorus commemorating the crew (only 12 men survived).

37 Topographical and geophysical survey of the canal: Isserlin 1991, Isserlin et al. 1994; symbolism: della Dora 2009, 113–115.

FIGURE 7.3 *Map of Aegean, with currents*
CREDIT: NASA

the boastful engineering (or perhaps because of it?), the Persian fleet came to doom against the east and south coast of the Magnesian peninsula, a second notoriously dangerous rocky, projecting coastline (Hdt. 7.188). Boreas got the credit, since the fleet was broken up by a sudden, overwhelming north wind against the Magnesian elbow, and afterward the Athenians established a sanctuary to him beside their river Ilissus (Hdt. 7.189).

A third place of special danger is the steep, jagged headland of Cape Malea at the southeastern tip of the Peloponnese, where Jason, Odysseus, Menelaus and

countless others could be swept past Cythera and Crete and onto the African coast. Rounding the Peloponnese was risky and time-consuming, hence the establishment of the Diolkos across the Isthmus, so that goods and even small boats could be transshipped by land. Not until the nineteenth century was a canal successfully cut through the Isthmus. After passing Cape Malea, the next, more sheltering headland to the west is Tainaron, site of another significant sanctuary of Poseidon, also known for receiving refugees, including Spartan helots, and the site of an entrance to the underworld.[38]

A fourth dangerous place, still highlighted in modern sailing directions as a very difficult passage for yachts and small boats, is the Doro or Kaphireus (Caphereus) Channel, where fierce winds are intensified by the parallel land masses of southern Euboea and northern Andros.[39] What makes the passage treacherous is not a prominent steep headland such as Mt. Athos or Cape Malea, but the rapid currents generated from the Hellespont, funneled through the channel and exacerbated by winds from the northeast, making the passage impossible at times. Yet it was the primary, obvious, and shortest route to the Black Sea for Athenians and southern Greeks generally. The sanctuary of Poseidon at Geraistos is situated at the western end of the passage, just east of Carystus on the Euboean coast, one of a series of sanctuaries dedicated to the god around the Aegean, and the Saronic Gulf. The temples prepared a space for the god's presence, especially where Poseidon's control over unruly forces is needed, at Geraistos, Sounion, Kalaureia, and Tenos. Genealogy reflects this Poseidonian network, and made Geraistos, Kalauros, and Tainaros three brothers (although they are sons of Zeus, not Poseidon). Possibly the sibling relationship between Geraistos and Kalauros was a part of the aetiology for an archaic Kalaurian Amphictyony, attested by Strabo (8.6.14), and thus all three were founders of sanctuaries of Poseidon.[40] The Amphictiony included Hermione, Epidaurus, Aegina, Athens, Prasiai, Nauplion and Minyan Orchomenos, and their envoys shared sacrifice to Poseidon at Kalaureia, where asylum was offered to refugees, notably Demosthenes.

38 Cummer 1978; Mylonopoulos 2006, 140–146, with testimonia and plan.

39 *Mediterranean Pilot* (1916, 137): 'The navigation of Doro Channel is one of the difficulties of the Levant, especially in sailing vessels, as the strong northerly winds which prevail during the summer months may be said scarcely to cease for upward of four months of the year, viz., from the beginning of May until the end of August or middle of September; and after the autumnal equinox, although they do not so constantly prevail, gales from that quarter are as heavy and frequent as from other points of the compass'.

40 Schumacher 1993; Mylonopoulos 2006; Polinskaya 2013, 316–318, 463–464; sea routes in the gulf of Euboea: Gehrke 1992.

In the *Odyssey*, Nestor describes how he, Diomedes, and Menelaus land at Geraistos at night after crossing the open sea from Lesbos, and then sacrifice thighs of bulls to Poseidon (*Od.* 3.176–179). Geraistos is situated between two small harbors facing opposite directions where boats could take refuge if they could not make it through the channel (Sounion also is doubled-harbored). The distance between Euboea and Andros here is about 6 miles, but the rocky shoreline of both islands contributes to the danger. Winds curl up on the coastline and flow back out over the strait. Although the archaeological remains of the sanctuary are only just beginning to be investigated, its prime location was confirmed by a third century BCE inscription found near Kastri that mentions the sanctuary three times, and states a copy of the decree was to be set up in it.[41] The Athenians seem to have taken control of the sanctuary at least by 470 BCE, as its harbors and the passage through the channel was so necessary for their grain trade. The trajectory, force, and chronology of the Athenian *arkhê* in the fifth century BCE is under revision, but all will agree that for Athens, control of seaways to the northern Aegean and the Hellespont was vital.[42]

The same passageway out of the Doro Channel southward toward Delos also presents difficulties with winds and currents. The cross-winds around Delos, Rheneia and Mykonos make for uncertain crossings even today with modern powered boats. By the fifth century BCE, a sanctuary of Poseidon and Amphitrite was established on Tenos, the likely stopover for northern passages to Delos. Although the sanctuary's visible remains date mostly to the Delian resurgence at the end of the fourth century and third century BCE, the French excavators have found traces of an earlier sanctuary, dating to the fifth century BCE. Etienne has remarked on the close correspondence between the fortunes of this sanctuary and the prominence of Delos.[43]

The Temple of Poseidon at Sounion, the best-preserved of his many temples, marks the gateway into the Saronic gulf and into Athenian waters (Fig. 7.4). The winds are especially fierce around the temple because of its completely exposed position and high headland, and the passage around the cape is not easy for small boats. The deme of Sounion acquired the character of a place of asylum, much like other sanctuaries of Poseidon, and it served as a convenient place for Athenians to relocate difficult refugees, rebellious Aeginetans, and

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41 *SEG* 44.710, lines 14, 39–41, 48.

42 Hieron, a sanctuary at the mouth of the Black Sea, provides a further example of a location both numinous and practical: Moreno 2008.

43 Étienne 1986, 1990; the size of the sanctuary, its *alsos* ('worth seeing') and its banquet halls are noted by Strabo, 10.5.11.

FIGURE 7.4 *Temple of Poseidon, Sounion*
PHOTO M.M. MILES

probably the Salaminioi.[44] In his assessment of the three linked sanctuaries of Poseidon (Geraistos, Kalaureia, Sounion), Schumacker notes that sanctuaries of Poseidon are typically located at some distance from urban centers, and that placement could have contributed to the function of the sanctuaries as places of asylum.[45] The Athenians began the construction of a monumental temple to Poseidon soon after Marathon, but it was burnt by the Persians while still under scaffolding.[46] They then rebuilt it a few decades later into the well-known marble version there today.

In sum, we see from the few Aegean examples noted out of some 175 attested templed promontories and coasts, that Poseidon's network of temples supported, encouraged, and nurtured maritime traffic. The temples marked difficult passages and gave additional visibility to an often treacherous coastline. Although nothing could be done about the winds except to sit them out, as

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44 Sinn 1993, 102–107; Osborne 1994.

45 Schumacker 1993, 82–83.

46 Dinsmoor 1974, 12–16; for temples burnt by Persians, Miles 2014.

Odysseus himself learned, some temples provided refuge, from both actual winds and political storms. The high number of coastal shrines built up over time constituted a conceptual framework for maritime traffic. The prominent sanctuaries must have contributed to ancient perceptions of the seaways as an integral part of the sacred environment, whether it proved treacherous or benign; more precisely, sailors could also measure distances accomplished by specific sacred territories dedicated to specific gods, each with a memorable coastline.

## 4 Local Environments: Trees and Groves, Sacred Plants

Sacred groves, reserved pasture land, and eventually gardens are a well-known and documented part of sanctuaries, attested archaeologically, epigraphically, and in literary commentary.[47] The immediate green landscape around sanctuaries supported a sacred environment, and its care and regulation were supervised by personnel of the sanctuary or *polis*. A temenos often included both 'cultivated' and 'wild' elements of the landscape (groves, plants and birds) alongside man-made votives and buildings. Such an environment could recall or even evoke divine presence through the contrasting elements in the microcosm of the temenos, since the deities themselves partake of both cultivated and wild. Their locations were various, but typically suburban. Here I single out three particular trees that illustrate these connections.

The most familiar sacred tree is the palm of Delos, the palm that gave all other palms their symbolic value. According to the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, Leto leaned on this palm while she was giving birth to Apollo and Artemis (*HH* 3.18, 113–119). Cicero (*Leg.* 1.1.2) and Pliny the Elder (*HN* 16.240) point to a tree in their times that was considered to be the very one. Cicero makes a further connection with a passage in the *Odyssey* (6.162–165) in which Odysseus compares Nausicaa to the young, beautiful palm tree he saw near the altar at Delos, on his way to Troy. Pausanias supplies us with the history of the symbolism: Theseus, after returning from Crete, held games on Delos in honor of Apollo, and crowned the victors with palm (8.48.2). Although the four stephanitic festivals

47 Birge 1994a and Bonnechere 2007, 17–31 provide overviews of the evidence and bibliography; see also Birge 1982, 1994b. Birge cites an impressive list of testimonia for groves of Apollo, who had by far the largest number, more than any other Olympian deity and nearly twice as many as Artemis or Demeter (1994a, 10–11, 136–137 n. 1). The excavated garden of Hephaestus: Thompson 1937; other 'natural' features: Mylonopoulos 2008.

at Delphi, Olympia, Isthmia, and Nemea offered to victors crowns of other distinctive plants (bay laurel at Delphi, olive at Olympia, pine at Isthmia, celery at Nemea), everywhere else the victor received a crown of palm and a palm for the right hand.[48] As a symbol of victory and of Apollo in particular, but also Artemis or the Delian triad, the palm was so ubiquitous that the Triad's aura was transferred to the tree itself, and in Attic vase-painting, an altar with a palm tree by it or behind it is a frequent, readily understandable reference.[49] Plutarch mentions a bronze date palm with gilded dates at Delphi, dedicated by Athenians out of spoils after the battle of the Eurymedon River (467 BCE), whose metallic dates were pecked off by crows during the disastrous Sicilian expedition (Plut. *Nic.* 13, Paus. 10.15.4–5). Nicias' bronze palm tree at Delos, dedicated in 417 BCE, is long since melted down, but its white marble base inscribed with his name is preserved—the tree would have been about 10 m tall. It commemorated his magnificent *theôria* to Delos, for which he had a bridge of pontoon boats made, to span some 700 m of sea between Rheneia and Delos. The bridge was lavishly decorated with garlands and tapestries. The chorus processed across it with sacrificial victims and equipment at dawn, singing hymns to Apollo (Plut. *Nic.* 3). Many other representations of palms are listed in Delian inscriptions or still exist, in metal and stone, noted by Palagia in her reconstruction of Callimachus' perpetual Lamp in the Erechtheion.[50] Its chimney was a hollow bronze palm tree (probably alluding to Athena's various victories, but possibly also Apollo). Like the olive tree by the Erechtheion, the palm at Delos was a replaceable but permanent and ever-living marker.

A second sacred tree was remembered from Homeric epic: the plane tree near the sacred spring at Aulis, opposite the later temple, near Agamemnon's encampment (Fig. 7.5). Odysseus recalls the terrible omen of the blood-red serpent, 'when they were gathered beside a spring, under a splendid plane tree where the shining water runs, sacrificing hecatombs to the gods' (ἡμεῖς δ' ἀμφὶ περὶ κρήνην ἱεροὺς κατὰ βωμοὺς / ἔρδομεν ἀθανάτοισι τεληέσσας ἑκατόμβας / καλῇ ὑπὸ πλατανίστῳ ὅθεν ῥέεν ἀγλαὸν ὕδωρ, *Il.* 2.305–307). When Pausanias visited Aulis, he was able to see inside the temple the remains of the actual plane tree mentioned by Homer, and he was also shown the spring, and the bronze threshold of Agamemnon's tent (Paus. 9.19.7–8). Today a large, flat base composed of two pieces, but with no cuttings on its top sits inside the

48 Palagia 1984, 520 gives further references to ancient comments on the palm.

49 Imagery discussed by Sourvinou-Inwood 1985.

50 Palagia 1984, 520–521; lamp described by Pausanias (1.26.7); it was filled with oil once a year, and only burned out during the siege of Sulla (87–86 BCE).

FIGURE 7.5 *Temple at Aulis*
PHOTO M.M. MILES

temple (Fig. 7.6). This may be the support for the trunk shown to Pausanias. The temple dates to the later fourth or even third century BCE, a creation in the Hellenistic period by locals who wanted to make manifest the literary events, and accommodate travelers who wanted to see the actual place where the Greek fleet camped before heading to Troy.[51] Aemilius Paullus, for example, stopped here during his tour of Greek sanctuaries after the Battle of Pydna because he wanted to see the famous setting, with its spring and plane tree (168 BCE, Livy 45.27.9).

At Dodona, the oak tree itself (likely *quercus troiana*) served as a conduit for the oracle (Fig. 7.7).[52] In the *Iliad*, Achilles prays to the Pelasgian Zeus of Dodona, whose interpreters the Selloi (or Helloi) live with unwashed feet and sleep on the ground (*Il.* 16.220–225), a description which points to an exotic, seemingly distant location, a sanctuary attended by simple people with

51 For discussion of date, Hollinshead 1985, 430–432, with earlier bibliography. She rightly proposes the lower dating and sees the plan as deliberately archaizing.

52 On the oracle: Hdt. 2.52–57; Parke 1967; Dakaris 1960, 2010; testimonia: Dieterle 2007, 25–102.

FIGURE 7.6 *Detail of stone base* (*support to display trunk of plane tree?*)*, interior of Temple at Aulis*
PHOTO M.M. MILES

abstemious customs. In contrast, Odysseus in disguise twice narrates a fictitious visit to Dodona to consult the tree, so as to *hear* the will of Zeus (ὄφρα θεοῖο ἐκ δρυὸς ὑψικόμοιο Διὸς βουλὴν ἐπακούσαι, *Od.* 14.327–330, 19.296–299). Some later ancient and most modern commentators rationalize the oracle by describing how the rustling leaves or creaking trunk was interpreted, but the text suggests the oak tree was capable of speaking. Parke thinks this is confirmed by another early story, that Athena took a limb from the oak tree at Dodona to make the keel for the ship Argo, which then was capable of speaking to the Argonauts on three occasions when they were in peril.[53]

An early history of the oracle is provided by Herodotus, who visited Dodona, interviewed priestesses (he names three of them), and also interviewed priests in Egyptian Thebes (Hdt. 2.52–57). He attributes early consultations of the oracle to the Pelasgians, and cites two versions of the origin of the oracle.[54]

53 Parke 1967, 13–14, refs. in 18 n. 31; the earliest reference to the talking beam is in a fragment of Aeschylus (fr. 20 = Philo Judaeus, *Quod omnis probus liber sit* 143).

54 On the use of Pelasgians as protagonists in the deep past, McInerney 2014b; for the Pelasgian inquiry about the names of deities, Burkert 2013.

FIGURE 7.7 *Oak Tree at Dodona* (2010)
PHOTO M.M. MILES

Either two priestesses from Egypt were abducted and later founded oracles at Dodona and Siwah (the Egyptian version), or two black doves flew from Egyptian Thebes, one to Dodona and the other to Siwah, and spoke with human voices to establish the oracles (the Dodonean version). Herodotus himself mulls over how all this should be interpreted and suggests that the foreign women initially spoke with bird-like voices; he points to similarities between the oracles in procedures for divination and sacrifice. Sound and voice are the crucial elements in the story, which begins with Pelasgians learning the names of deities.

Herodotus posits kinship between Dodona and Siwah, with Egyptian Thebes as a mutual source, and the account as a whole serves as a paradigm from the remote past for founding new sanctuaries in distant places: a place to interact with gods can be discovered, religion is transportable, it can take on new forms in new locations, and this can be done by humans. Whereas Delos became sacred because of the births of Apollo and Artemis, and Apollo had to battle a serpent to take Delphi and himself initiate a series of temples there, in Herodotus' account a human woman with expertise, a former captive from a foreign country, established the shrine at the oak tree at Dodona. In the

Dodonean version of the founding, free but purposeful birds choose for Zeus the diametrically opposite landscapes of Dodona and Siwah, neither of them typical of the Mediterranean. The oak is in an upland valley nestled beneath towering, jagged peaks and covered with deep snow several months of the year; the oasis is verdant and flat, full of date palms and enclosed in a vast sandy desert.

The Doves (πελειάδες) were the priestesses, who held that title; three ring doves are depicted beside and in the tree on bronze coinage of Dodona minted in the fourth century BCE and later.[55] By the later fifth century BCE, petitioners to the oracle could write their queries on bronze tickets, a practice which continued for centuries; some 4,000 such tickets have been found so far. A sequence of small temples and treasuries was begun in the fourth century BCE, and the sanctuary flourished especially under the patronage of Pyrrhus, when an enormous theater, a stadium, and administrative buildings were added. Bronze cauldrons, singing when struck or in proper windy conditions, are also mentioned by later authors, who say they were set in a ring around the oak tree. At Dodona, nature itself, in the form of the oak, the winds, and the remembered doves, was the means by which humans could receive communication from the god. The stories and traditions taken together illustrate how a sacred environment could be given an evolutionary history, both in antiquity and today. The site was regarded as 'found' in nature originally, tended by devoted folk, then enhanced and shaped by trained women into a regulated institution, and eventually built into a sanctuary with typical facilities.

The three trees at Dodona, Aulis, and Delos are particular to their landscapes and the specific stories of the sanctuaries. The oak of Dodona is considered both functional and symbolic, and the palm and plane of Delos and Aulis commemorative, and all three are illustrations of how elements of nature were featured in the sanctuary so as to evoke a numinous atmosphere, even supplying 'proofs' (*tekmêria*) of past events. The many other attested sacred groves, pasture lands, and areas set aside as the deities' property also had unusual stories and histories attached that enhanced the particularity of each. One such is the sacred grove of Poseidon at Onchestos, the federal sanctuary of Boeotia, an oddity which harbored crashed chariots, noted in the *Homeric*

55 Arnott 2007, s.v. Peleia (πέλεια), lists the many legends attached to doves, and their particular associations with Zeus and Aphrodite; the coin is illustrated in Dakaris 2010, 11, Fig. 6. Further on the Doves, and the larger panhellenic role of Dodona: Kowalzig 2007, 331–352.

*Hymn to Apollo* (229–238).[56] Other well-known associations of cut or uprooted plants with rituals include the myrtle rods carried by initiates to Eleusis, bay laurel branches used by Ion to sweep the temple steps at Delphi in Euripides' *Ion*, and the various *stephanoi* for the victors in crown games at the panhellenic sanctuaries, noted above. Fruit, such as pomegranates and figs, could be offered in sanctuaries. Trees and plants, whether rooted or plucked, were essential components of the imagery and ritual in sanctuaries.

## 5 Sacred Animals, Wild and Free

That animals could be sacred by association with deities is established already in the poetry of Homer and Hesiod. The link could be through affective symbols, such as Athena's owl or snake, or the even closer metamorphosis. If Zeus could change easily to a bull, cuckoo or swan, and Poseidon into a horse or fish, should we not infer that humans should treat with respect bulls, swans, horses, and fish? All the stories illustrate that a god's embrace never fails to impregnate, no matter what shape he assumes, such is the power of divine yearning for mortals. The complexity of attitudes toward sacrality and animals is underscored by a central element in Greek religion, the sacrifice of animals as valuable offerings to the gods. This large and important subject is outside my scope here, as I am considering only animals valued as still-living beings and participants in the sacred environment.[57]

For most Greek sanctuaries, the wildest animals (in the sense of being free to come and go) were birds, and they contributed a great deal to the sense of sacredness in sanctuaries as interlocutors, since so many were regarded as closely associated with a deity and could bring messages or portents from them. In effect they were stand-ins on a small scale for the wild, unpredictable impulses of the gods or even of fate. In his essay on abstinence from animals as food, Porphyry points out that a long tradition held that animals have a soul in common with humans, and while gods could change people into animals, or change the color of animals such as Apollo's raven, the gods still loved the changed ones, whether dolphins or kingfishers, nightingales or swallows (*Abst.* 3.16). Representations of birds as appropriate offerings to Athena or Aphrodite

56 Teffeteller 2001.

57 Recent work on animal sacrifice: McInerney 2010, 2014a, Faraone and Naiden 2012, Naiden 2013, Ekroth 2014, Morton 2015; for live animals, see the useful lexicon by Kitchell (2014) with much ancient animal lore.

FIGURE 7.8 *Fragment of a Red-Figure Bell Krater, third quarter fifth century BCE. Bird on Doric capital. Agora P3045.*
COURTESY AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

have been found in abundance, made of bronze, marble, and terracotta. Marble doves were found in the excavations of the Sanctuary of Aphrodite on the Sacred Way to Eleusis, near Daphne.[58]

Birds were encouraged in sanctuaries, and became part of their imagery (Fig. 7.8). The Heraion on Samos was known for its peafowl (*Pavo cristatus*), probably introduced from India at least by the fifth century BCE. They were still a novelty, for Pyrilampes, an Athenian ambassador sent by Pericles to Persia, brought some back to Athens and put them on display (for a fee) in the second half of the fifth century BCE. There were flocks of guineafowl (*Numida meleagris*) sacred to Artemis in her sanctuary on the island of Leros, and another group on the Athenian Acropolis was also sacred to Artemis. The

58 Machaira 2008, 73–77, Pl. 21.

Little Owl (*Athene noctua*) sacred to Athena lived around the Acropolis, and of course is featured on Athenian coinage, known as 'owls.' The migratory white stork (*Ciconia ciconia*) too lived around the Acropolis and gave its name to the Pelargikon, a perimetric swath of land around the shoulder of the Acropolis, regarded as a temenos; storks were all over Greece in great number in antiquity, and considered an ethical model because of their careful tending of their young. Swallows (primarily *Hirundo rustica*) could be found in many sanctuaries and feature (along with nightingales) in several myths that end in metamorphosis. In descriptions of the Hyperborean temple of Apollo, there are swans (*Cygnus olor*, *Cygnus cygnus*), and also herds of reindeer. Although typically silent until death, so it was believed, in a *Homeric Hymn* (24.1–4) even the swan sings for Apollo with a clear voice and beating wings. Zeus was said by the lyric poet Alcaeus to have outfitted Apollo at birth with a chariot pulled by swans, which he later used to visit the Hyperboreans.[59]

Aristophanes provides a hugely enjoyable portrait of birds and bird lore in his play *Birds*, first produced in 414 BCE. A utopian anti-Athens will be set up, with the birds as rulers rather than the Olympians, since after all, they are senior in creation. In anticipation of the new regime in Cloudcuckooland, the playwright has Peisetairos draw a portrait of how the birds themselves, when they are in charge, would set up sanctuaries; when Euelpides exclaims that the birds would be much better rulers than Zeus, Peisetairos replies (Ar. *Av.* 611–626):

> Yes, aren't they much better?
> In the first place we don't have
> to build them temples of stone
> or to furnish the temples with golden doors;
> they will live under bushes and saplings,
> while for the prouder birds
> an olive tree
> will be their temple. Nor shall we go to Delphi
> or to Ammon
> and sacrifice there;

59 References to birds cited here are from Arnott 2007, a comprehensive lexicon of ancient Greek and Roman references to birds: peafowl, s.v. Tahos (ταῶς or ταώς); guineafowl, s.v. Meleagris (μελεαγρίς); little owl, s.v. Glaux (γλαῦξ); stork, s.v. Pelargos (πελαργός); swallow, s.v. Chelidon (χελιδών); swan, s.v. Kyknos (κύκνος). It should be noted that the correlations with modern names of species are tentative. Apollo's swan-chariot: Alcaeus fr. 307 L–P, prose summary *apud* Him. *Orat.* 48.10–11. On the Pelargikon: Thuc. 2.17; *IG* I$^3$ 78.

we shall stand among
the arbutus and the oleasters, holding
barley or wheat grains, and pray to them
with upstretched hands
to give us a share of the blessings—and these we shall
immediately receive,
just by throwing them a few grains of wheat.
tr. SOMMERSTEIN

οὐ γὰρ πολλῷ;
πρῶτον μέν ⟨γ'⟩ οὐχὶ νεὼς ἡμᾶς
οἰκοδομεῖν δεῖ λιθίνους αὐτοῖς,
οὐδὲ θυρῶσαι χρυσαῖσι θύραις,
ἀλλ' ὑπὸ θάμνοις καὶ πρινιδίοις
οἰκήσουσιν. τοῖς δ' αὖ σεμνοῖς
τῶν ὀρνίθων δένδρον ἐλάας
ὁ νεὼς ἔσται. κοὐκ εἰς Δελφοὺς
οὐδ' εἰς Ἄμμων' ἐλθόντες ἐκεῖ
θύσομεν, ἀλλ' ἐν ταῖσιν κομάροις
καὶ τοῖς κοτίνοις στάντες, ἔχοντες
κριθὰς πυρούς ⟨τ'⟩ εὐξόμεθ' αὐτοῖς
ἀνατείνοντες τὼ χεῖρ' ἀγαθῶν
διδόναι τὸ μέρος· καὶ ταῦθ' ἡμῖν
παραχρῆμ' ἔσται
πυροὺς ὀλίγους προβαλοῦσιν.

In this utopian view, an olive tree shall serve as the temple, preferred by the ruling birds, and pilgrimage to distant sanctuaries is no longer necessary since access to the sacred is right at hand. And getting the favor of the new divine ones should be easy and inexpensive. Living in such a utopia, simple and close to nature, would be so much easier than dealing with all the expectations and ceremonial fuss in Athens.

Yet the birds could be a nuisance, too. Bird behavior was observed closely (not only by Aristophanes), and tradition had it that kites (perhaps the Red Kite, *Milvus milvus*) were very greedy, stole rags for their nests, killed chickens, and snatched sacrificed meat from altars—but not in the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia.[60] Euripides illustrates vividly the potential pollution by birds in the

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60 Not from Zeus' altar: [Arist.] *Mir. ausc.* 842a34–b2, Theopomp. *FGrH* 115 f., Ael. *NA* 2.47,

*Ion* (first produced between 420 and 409 BCE). After Hermes' proem, Ion steps forth for a monody, showing his determination to keep the temple at Delphi free of any pollution. At lines 153–183 he says:

> Oh no!
> The birds are already flocking here,
> leaving their nests on Parnassus.
> I tell you not to go near the eaves
> or the temple covered with gold!
> I shall get you too with my arrows, herald of Zeus,
> even though with your beak you outstrip
> the strength of other birds. Here is another bird wheeling towards the temple—
> a swan. Won't you take your bright red feet
> somewhere else?
> In no way would Phoebus' lyre,
> your partner in song, save you from my arrows.
> Fly away!
> Go off to the lake on Delos!
> You will turn your sweet-toned notes
> to cries of woe if you don't listen!
> Oh look!
> What is this strange bird that's come?
> Is it to build under the eaves nests
> of straw for its chicks to settle in?
> My twanging bow-string will keep you off!
> Take no notice, will you? Go to the streams
> of Alpheios and have your family there
> or to the grove on the Isthmus,
> so that you won't foul the offerings
> in the temple of Phoebus.
> I am reluctant to kill you
> since you bring messages from the gods
> to mortals. But with the tasks I am engaged in
> it is Phoebus I shall serve, and I shall never stop
> serving those who take care of me.
>
> tr. LEE

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Plin. *HN* 10.28; many other references to the behavior of kites in Arnott 2007, s.v. Iktinos (ἰκτῖνος or ἴκτινος), 76–77.

ἔα ἔα·
φοιτῶσ' ἤδη λείπουσίν τε
πτανοὶ Παρνασοῦ κοίτας.
αὐδῶ μὴ χρίμπτειν θριγκοῖς
μηδ' ἐς χρυσήρεις οἴκους.
μάρψω σ' αὖ τόξοις, ὦ Ζηνὸς
κῆρυξ, ὀρνίθων γαμφηλαῖς
ἰσχὺν νικῶν.
ὅδε πρὸς θυμέλας ἄλλος ἐρέσσει
κύκνος· οὐκ ἄλλαι φοινικοφαῆ
πόδα κινήσεις;
οὐδέν σ' ἁ φόρμιγξ ἁ Φοίβου
σύμμολπος τόξων ῥύσαιτ' ἄν.
πάραγε πτέρυγας·
λίμνας ἐπίβα τᾶς Δηλιάδος·
αἱάξεις, εἰ μὴ πείσηι,
τὰς καλλιφθόγγους ὠιδάς.
ἔα ἔα·
τίς ὅδ' ὀρνίθων καινὸς προσέβα;
μῶν ὑπὸ θριγκοὺς εὐναίας
καρφυρὰς θήσων τέκνοις;
ψαλμοί σ' εἴρξουσιν τόξων.
οὐ πείσηι; χωρῶν δίνας
τὰς Ἀλφειοῦ παιδούργει
ἢ νάπος Ἴσθμιον,
ὡς ἀναθήματα μὴ βλάπτηται
ναοί θ' οἱ Φοίβου ⟨ ⟩
κτείνειν δ' ὑμᾶς αἰδοῦμαι
τοὺς θεῶν ἀγγέλλοντας φήμας
θνατοῖς· οἷς δ' ἔγκειμαι μόχθοις
Φοίβωι δουλεύσω κοὐ λήξω
τοὺς βόσκοντας θεραπεύων.

Clearly Ion wishes the birds off to other great sanctuaries, so that the offerings at Delphi remain pure, and he need not kill them: Burnett comments on the comedic aspect of Ion's preoccupation with purity at the basic level of bird-droppings.[61] At the same time, however, the scene gives Euripides an

61 Burnett 1970, 36–38. On *mêniskoi*, bird-repellents (on statuary), Ridgway 1990.

opportunity to name and recall other favorite locations of the gods, Delos, Olympia, Isthmia, and include in a sort of reverse invocation Zeus and Poseidon as well as Apollo (to whom Ion has fierce allegiance), much like the structure and content of a cult hymn. Implicit also is the idea that once established in the temple with a nest, the birds could not be driven away since they were under the protection of the deity, just like humans taking asylum.[62]

Artemis has an antithetical relationship with animals, since she both protects them and hunts them. The sense of the terrifying power of the goddess is well conveyed in this passage from the *Homeric Hymn to Artemis* (27.1–10):

> I sing of Artemis, whose shafts are of gold, who cheers on the hounds,
> the pure maiden, shooter of stags, who delights in archery,
> own sister to Apollo with the golden sword.
> Over the shadowy hills and windy peaks
> she draws her golden bow, rejoicing in the chase,
> and sends out deadly shafts. The tops of the high mountains tremble
> and the tangled wood echoes
> awesomely with the outcry of beasts: earth quakes
> and the sea also where fishes shoal; the goddess with a bold heart
> turns every way destroying the race of wild beasts.
>
> tr. EVELYN-WHITE, adapted

> Ἄρτεμιν ἀείδω χρυσηλάκατον κελαδεινὴν
> παρθένον αἰδοίην ἐλαφηβόλον ἰοχέαιραν
> αὐτοκασιγνήτην χρυσαόρου Ἀπόλλωνος,
> ἣ κατ᾽ ὄρη σκιόεντα καὶ ἄκριας ἠνεμοέσσας
> ἄγρῃ τερπομένη παγχρύσεα τόξα τιταίνει
> πέμπουσα στονόεντα βέλη· τρομέει δὲ κάρηνα
> ὑψηλῶν ὀρέων, ἰαχεῖ δ᾽ ἔπι δάσκιος ὕλη
> δεινὸν ὑπὸ κλαγγῆς θηρῶν, φρίσσει δέ τε γαῖα
> πόντος τ᾽ ἰχθυόεις· ἡ δ᾽ ἄλκιμον ἦτορ ἔχουσα
> πάντῃ ἐπιστρέφεται θηρῶν ὀλέκουσα γενέθλην.

In her sanctuary at Calydon and later Patras, Artemis received offerings of massive holocausts of baby and full-grown, wild and domestic animals: in this

62 Herodotus has Apollo's oracle comment emphatically on the morality of giving up suppliants, with an explicit comparison between swallows nesting in his temple at Didyma and the proposed treatment of the Lydian suppliant Paktyes (Hdt. 1.159).

way the dual nature of Artemis, as protector of the young and a relentless hunter was negotiated. A holocaust of animals was witnessed by Pausanias at Patras (where the cult was transported from Calydon by Augustus), who saw that even when bear and wolf cubs, edible birds or any other such victim managed to escape the flames, they would be caught and thrown back (7.18.12). Cole notes that when a sanctuary of Artemis was established in an urban setting, she brought the wilderness with her.[63]

The benign, helpful aspect of sanctuary animals is most notable in Asclepiea, where dogs are credited with assisting in the healing, and at Epidaurus, where the local yellow snakes were a vehicle for the god's power. Dogs and snakes were kept also at other healing shrines as at the Amphiaraon at Oropus. Sacred groves could offer protection to wild animals: deer were protected in Apollo's sanctuary at Courion (Ael. *NA* 11.7), fish were kept and fed in the oracle of Apollo at Myra in Lycia, where they could be summoned by a piper (Plin. *HN* 32.8). Taming the wild (at least slightly) and accepting healing from the domesticated were ways of acknowledging the spiritual powers of animals, in themselves or by association with a deity.

## 6 Sensory Experience in a Sacred Environment

Besides the plant and animal life that helped to create a distinctive sacred environment, the accumulations of votive offerings must have been an overwhelming sight in some sanctuaries. The Sanctuary of Apollo Ptoios in Boeotia is a small-scale sanctuary built on three terraces below a vertical cliff with a distinctive profile. Excavations conducted in the mid-twentieth century uncovered parts of some 120 individual statues, mostly *kouroi*, and mostly life-size. A large number were placed on bases in rows leading to the sacred spring in the sanctuary, and others were on an upper terrace around the temple and other sanctuary buildings. The sanctuary also had numerous large bronze tripods, set up on bases; the tripods have vanished but the bases remain.[64] Visitors would have ascended the terraces through a veritable forest of offerings set up on the bases for visibility and therefore towering overhead. The Athenian Acropolis was filled with statuary of all kinds, and by the end of the fifth century BCE it had acquired what must have been a huge number of marble inscriptions, some

63 Cole 2004, 183.

64 *Kouroi*: Ducat 1971, 451 gives the figure 120 for the estimated number of individuals, based on excavated pieces (maximum 135 individual statues, minumum 90); tripods: Papalexandrou 2008.

of them quite large, and many of them with scuptured reliefs at their tops. Other sanctuaries had distinctive offerings, such as the cure-tablets at Epidaurus, the bronze images of Zeus set up as fines at Olympia, the hundreds of mould-made terracotta plaques with images illustrating the life of Persephone, hanging on some wall at Locri Epizephyrii. Because all such finds are now separated from their context, we can only imagine the impact they must have made on the visitor as testimony of previous, successful prayers to the deity, of the community's deep past.

A devotee had to prepare him or herself to experience and appreciate the sacred setting, and to approach the deity. Preparation included travel, ritual baths, purification from specific springs, such as the Castalian Spring at Delphi, and purification upon entry into the temenos from *perirrhantêria*, made of terracotta, limestone, marble or bronze, placed strategically around the sanctuary. The devotee might be arriving in a procession, perhaps a long one, even the 14 km between the City Eleusinion in downtown Athens and Eleusis. Participants carried myrtle rods, or branches, or sometimes (for the Eleusinian Mysteries), plêmokhoai to be used later in dance and libation.[65] Once in the sanctuary, the devotee might spend time looking at dedications and reading inscriptions.[66] That devotees typically had access to interiors of temples is demonstrated by the testimonia collected by Corbett.[67]

The architectural sculpture on temples, and the image of the deity and its decoration offered rich visual texts for visitors. Euripides' *Ion* provides the sort of reaction that might be typical: the chorus, comprised of the servants of Creusa, approach the temple at Delphi, and they exclaim over the scenes depicted on the temple. The women identify Heracles slaying the Lernean Hydra, a gigantomachy, and they recognize Athena, 'my own goddess' in action; they compare the stories to what they tell at their looms (Eur. *Ion* 184–218). The visibility of actual architectural sculpture and the sculptors' intentions are a topic of ongoing debate, building by building (especially for large-scale temples such as the Parthenon), but it is clear that the sculpture was intended for a human audience, even if the structure as a whole belonged to the deity.[68] In his speeches prosecuting Verres, Cicero comments on a very old bronze cult

65 Plemochoai as a ritual vessel: Miles 1998, 95–103; on the Eleusinian procession, Miles 2012.

66 At least one arrived in a light frame of mind: Ambrosia of Athens went to Epidaurus, walked around and read the cures; she laughed at them as incredible, but the god cured her and instructed her to dedicate a silver pig in memory of her foolishness (*IG* IV$^2$,1 121.4).

67 Corbett 1970; for atypical experiences during festivals, Parker 2011, 171–223.

68 For a succinct discussion of this issue, Ridgway 1999, 74–102; observations on the role of architectural sculpture as ornament, Hölscher 2009.

statue of Heracles he had seen in Sicily, which Verres had tried to steal from the temple at Agrigento. The bearded chin and mouth of Heracles were worn smooth from centuries of people touching it reverently or even kissing it as they prayed or offered thanks (Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.43, 94).

Approaching the temenos one would immediately notice the scent of incense and its residue. Thumiatêria made of terracotta, bronze, and marble were part of the sanctuaries' furniture, and appear often in Athenian vase-painting as a signpost of a religious event. The trade in incense with outposts on the Arabian peninsula dates back to the Bronze Age; the plants that produce resin for frankincense and myrrh have a limited geographical range for harvesting, and the sea and land routes from southern Arabia were very well established by the archaic period in Greece, with Gaza as the point of transshipment.[69] Precious and expensive, it was supplemented with many other kinds of spices, aromatic woods, flower and herb-based incense and perfumes that were more commonly available. Perhaps the most impressive offering of incense is that of the Persian general Datis, described by Herodotus (6.97). The people of Delos had fled the island when the Persians came near, but Datis sends a herald to proclaim he had no intent to harm them or the sanctuary, and to urge them to return. He then had his men pile up three hundred talents of frankincense on the altar and burn it (17,100 lbs or 7,800 kg). Even if we halve the stated amount, or quarter it, Herodotus reports it as a magnificent offering, a mark of extraordinary Persian wealth.

Celestial orientations, salvific shrines set on sea routes, the greenery around handsome temples, redolent with delightful scents and surrounded with populations of statues and birds, all contributed to a sense of the sacred, but the most powerful key to the creation of a sacred environment was choral music. For moderns, the best known type of ancient Greek choral poetry is that produced by the great poets Alcman, Sappho, Stesichorus, Simonides, Bacchylides, Pindar, whose existing corpora are much studied; these poets worked by commission and their work often includes aetiological myth specific to the celebrating locale (or to an individual's posited ancestry, in the case of epinician poetry).[70]

69 Incense: Groom 1981, Artzy 1994, Peacock and Williams 2007, 1–3 (the other essays in the Peacock and Williams volume update the archaeological findings for the trade). Perfume: Brun 2000.

70 On Greek music generally, West 1992; choral performance, see e.g., Calame 1997 [1977]; studies of aetiologies, Kowalzig 2007; mobility, trade, and diffusion of musical forms, Kowalzig 2013.

In contrast, nearly all cult hymns for the archaic and classical periods are lost, and must be recovered from later texts, literary or dramatic contexts, and inscriptions, and thus have been underappreciated as an essential part of Greek religious experience. Yet there is no doubt that cult hymns were a major form of artistic and religious expression, ubiquitous and constant in sanctuaries.[71] For the fourth century BCE and later, texts are better preserved and include hymns inscribed at Delphi and Epidaurus, as well as those in the literary tradition, which also includes much earlier, well-known rhapsodic compositions such as the *Homeric Hymns*. The cult hymns were sung in processions and around altars, before and after sacrifices. The musical instruments played to accompany the choral groups have been reconstructed from archaeological finds and visual depictions: the instruments include wind, string and percussion (aulos, kithara, lyre, phorminx, tympana) (Fig. 7.9).[72] Their invention is typically credited to gods.

The content of cult hymns to the gods recreated their births, described their favorite locations, articulated their personalities, listed their accomplishments, thanked them for their past benefactions. Particularity and distinctiveness of the deity in a specific place are characteristic themes. That the cult hymns were sung by coherent groups of people drawn from the community by age or gender, or the community as a whole, made such performances the true heart in the experience of honoring the gods and evoking their immediate presence.

## 7 Conclusion

I conclude with a hymn to Aphrodite, intended both for a symposium and as a performed religious invocation (Sappho fr. 2 Voigt, early sixth century BCE):

> Come to me from Crete to your holy
> temple, where a seductive grove of apples
> grows, and altars smoke with the heady
> fumes of incense;

71 Furley and Bremer's two volume study gathers the evidence and texts for the archaic and classical periods; they argue persuasively for the centrality of cult hymns for Greek religion (2001, 1–40); see also Bremer 1981; on prayer, Pulleyn 1997. Individual hymns, the composition of the choral groups, and instrumental music (Greek, Roman, and Etruscan) are explored in the essays in Brulé and Vendries 2001. Platt 2011, 60–76 makes use of hymns to illustrate epiphanies, with parallels in votive reliefs.

72 *ThesCRA* II.4.c, 345–390; for visual depictions of musicians and instruments, Bundrick 2005.

FIGURE 7.9 *Corinthian Black-Figure Aryballos. Aulos-player and dancers. Corinth Museum, No. C-1954-1.*
PHOTO M.M. MILES

Here cold water runs in murmuring rills
among the apples and everywhere is shade
from roses while through rustling leaves
drowsiness descends …

Nearby a pasture good for horses abounds
with spring flowers, and gentle breezes
blow soothingly [*vac.*
]

Here, Aphrodite, draw […] nectar,
and pour in our golden drinking-cups
wine mixed sweetly with celebration,
gracious hostess!

tr. FURLEY and BREMER [2001, 163]

Δεῦρύ μ' ἐ⟨κ⟩ Κρήτας π̣ρ̣[οσίκαν'] ἔ̣ναυλον
ἄγνον ὄππ̣[αι τοι] χάριεν μὲν ἄλσος
μαλί[αν], βῶμοι δ' ἔ⟨ν⟩ι θυμιάμε-
νοι [λι]β̣ανώτωι·

ἐν δ' ὕδωρ ψῦχρον κελάδει δι' ὔσδων
μαλίνων, βρόδοισι δὲ παῖς ὁ χῶρος
ἐσκίαστ', αἰθυσσομένων δὲ φύλλων
κῶμα κὰτ ἶρον·

ἐν δὲ λείμων ἰππ̣όβοτος τέθαλε
τω̣τ … (.)ριννοις ἄνθεσιν, αἰ ⟨δ'⟩ ἄηται
μέλλιχα πν⟨έ⟩οισιν [
[ ]

ἔνθα δὴ σὺ ϛ̣ο̣ς μ' ἐ⟨θέ⟩λοισα, Κύπρι,
χρυσίαισιν ἐν κυλίκεσσιν ἄβρως
⟨ὀ⟩μ⟨με⟩μείχμενον θαλίαισι νέκταρ
οἰνοχόα̣ισα[ι.[73]

This evocative hymn creates in words a model sacred environment: a temple is situated in a sacred orchard near a stream, with perfumed incense smoking on altars, horses may be present and visible nearby through rose bushes, wine is to be consumed in gold vessels, and the goddess Aphrodite has been invited as spectator and host, and presides over all. Above all, it is the presence of the gods that humans seek, and may find, in sanctuaries created and prepared for their arrival.

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CHAPTER 8

# Juno Sospita and the *draco*: Myth, Image, and Ritual in the Landscape of the Alban Hills*

*Rianne Hermans*

## 1 Introduction

The Alban Hills, a volcanic area south of Rome, provided a dramatic scenery for anyone leaving the ancient city using the Via Appia. Although it was a highly popular location for elite villa's in the late Republic and early Empire, parts of the region were still rather isolated, and dense woods, steep-sided crater lakes, and dozens of little streams and waterfalls provided a sharp contrast with Rome and the busy traffic going in and out of it.[1] It was also the sort of landscape where Latin poets like Ovid, Horace, and Propertius envisaged demigods, water nymphs, sacred trees, and curative springs. Because of their extensive attention to these minor divinities, the Augustans have been accused of nostalgic sentimentalism, much like the nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century scholars who investigated these forms of worship in search of the genuine and unspoiled core of Roman religion.[2]

And indeed, the religious landscape of the Alban Hills as we can reconstruct it today through archaeological and epigraphic sources seems to have looked very different from the simple piety described by the poets. The cultic activity was dominated by three big sanctuaries: that of Juno Sospita in Lanuvium, that of Diana on the shores of Lake Nemi, and that of Jupiter Latiaris on the Alban mount. Imposing building structures were erected on highly visible locations, revealing an effort to reshape the landscape and create a scenery that

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1 Horden and Purcell 2000, 59–65.

2 Fantham 2009, 5, Feeney 1998, 3–6.

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underlined the grandiosity of the sanctuaries themselves. They attracted large crowds and were supported by a competitive local aristocracy, who actively influenced the cult practice as well. As such, the sanctuaries have mostly been studied as a form of highly formalized civil religion, in which the literary motives of demigods and natural spirits had little or no role to play.[3]

These different perceptions of the religious landscape of the Alban Hills have increasingly diverged as fields of study as well, and material and literary analyses are seldom combined. In this chapter, I intend to challenge this scholarly division. I will address the religious landscape of the Alban Hills as a whole, arguing that it makes no sense to isolate the literary domain from a material sphere that was somehow more 'real' or believable. The big deities of the Alban Hills interacted with the mythical creatures that surrounded them, and I hope to show that by studying these interactions in literary discourse as well as in material sources, we get a better understanding of the cults. In order to illustrate my point in detail, I will focus on one particular example: the cult of Juno Sospita in Lanuvium. The protective goddess and her monumental hilltop sanctuary form a prime example of civic, highly formalized religion (section 2). At the same time, however, Lanuvium is associated with a curious fertility rite, which involved a giant serpent, a mysterious cave, and terrified virgins (sections 3–6). By highlighting the connections between the monumental sanctuary, its presiding deity, and the mythical story world of 'primitive' religion around it, I hope to contribute to a better understanding of the religious landscape of Lanuvium and, by extension, of that of the Alban Hills.

## 2 Juno Sospita as a *patrona* of Lanuvium and Rome

In 340 BCE, the constantly expanding power of Rome provoked a final rebellion of its Latin neighbors, who had united their efforts against Rome many times before. This time, the war lasted for about two years and ended dramatically for the Latin cities: they suffered an unprecedented defeat with many casualties and, by 338 BCE, the Romans controlled the region more firmly than ever.[4] For the town of Lanuvium, located about 30 km from Rome, the punishment was relatively mild. In contrast to other cities, no land was taken and the

3 The literature on the monumental Latial sanctuaries of the late Republic is extensive; for a general overview, typologies, and references to individual sanctuaries, see Coarelli 1987, Rous 2010.

4 Livy 8.13–14. For an overview of the Latin war and its aftermath, see Cornell 1995, 247–352, Forsythe 2005, 189–191.

Lanuvians obtained full citizenship (*civitas cum suffragio*).[5] There was one other stipulation: the Senate declared that the cult of Juno Sospita should be held in common by the citizens of Lanuvium and the people of Rome. This was the only religious measure taken in the wake of the Latin war, and it indicates the significance of Juno's cult, which had a long history of worship with which Rome apparently felt it had to associate itself.[6]

Several generations of archaeologists have located the sanctuary on the southern end of the highest hill of present-day Lanuvio, the so-called Colle San Lorenzo.[7] The remains are spread out over several terraces, facing west, and the temple itself was identified on the highest terrace.[8] Three building phases have been identified and the rich terracotta decorations of two consecutive archaic structures suggest that the sanctuary was a popular place of worship from the sixth century BCE onwards.[9] The interference of the Romans did not change this. On the contrary: in the late fourth century BCE, when Roman magistrates are assumed to have taken part in the organization of the cult, the temple was rebuilt and enlarged one final time. The monumental layout of the rest of the sanctuary was realized around 90 BCE, when several artificial terraces were created and a large *porticus* with commercial and administrative spaces was built. As was the case with many other sanctuaries in Latium, the monumentalization was sponsored by local elites who benefited from the wealth arriving from the east in the late Republic.[10] They adorned the sanctuary with lavish decorations such as monumental fountains and sculpture.[11] The

5 Livy 8.14.1–2.

6 For the cult of Juno Sospita and its relation to Rome, see Hermans 2012.

7 See Fig. 8.1. For reasons of space, and because the literature on the subject is extensive, I will only sketch the archaeological remains and excavation history briefly. Overviews of past and present campaigns at the site can be found in Zevi, Santi, and Attenni 2011, Santi 2014 (concentrated at the temple area), and Attenni 2004, 2009, 2011, and 2014 (for the other terraces of the sanctuary).

8 This was discovered in campaigns led by Angelo Pasqui and reported by Galieti 1916–1917 and 1928. After that, the remains were badly damaged by bombings in World War II.

9 Several terracotta antefixes and other roof decorations testify to a sixth-century building phase; for the late archaic temple from the fifth century, foundations have been found as well. For the difficulties in establishing the ground plan of this temple, which seems to have had an uncharacteristic layout with two *cellae*, see Santi 2014.

10 For the general phenomenon, see Rous 2010, 109–130.

11 The most famous example is the marble equestrian group, now in the British Museum, attributed to the local family of the Licinii Murenae, more in particular to Lucius Licinius Murena. He was one of Sulla's victorious generals in the Mithridatic wars and probably had himself represented on the model of Alexander the Great. See Coarelli 1981.

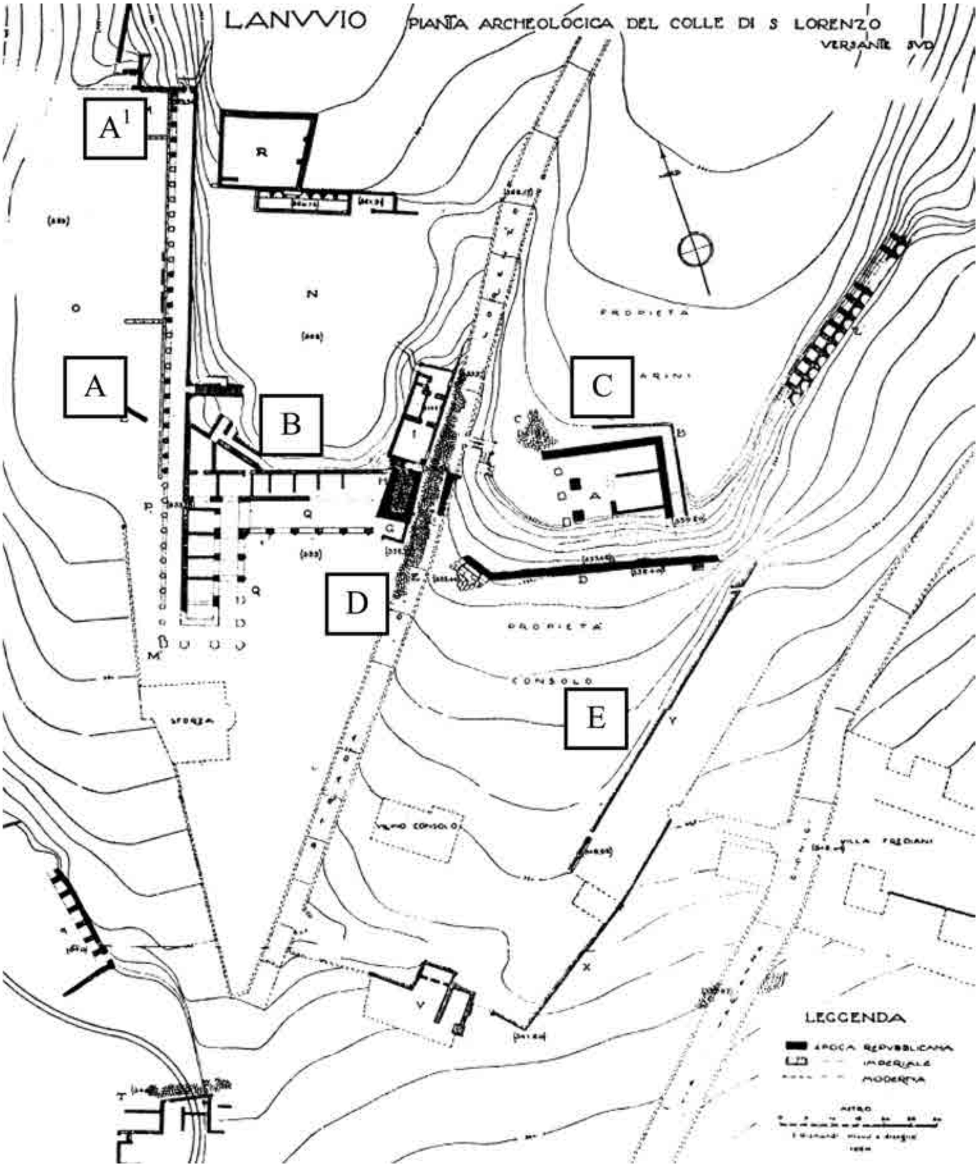


FIGURE 8.1 *Sanctuary of Juno Sospita, monumental phase (first century BCE)*
*A: Second terrace, with monumental porticus*
*A1: Entrance 'antro del serpente'*
*B: Third terrace, with nymphaeum and service quarters*
*C: Temple area*
*D: Roman street*
*E: Southeastern terracing walls*
ADAPTED FROM GALIETTI 1928, TAVOLA 1

archaeological record shows that the sanctuary was restored repeatedly and used until the age of Constantine.[12] So, with about 1000 years of religious activity attested for, the Colle San Lorenzo in Lanuvium displays a remarkable continuity of worship.

But who was the deity worshiped here? Elsewhere I have argued that the earliest phases of the cult practice cannot be connected straightforwardly with the name and iconography of the later Juno Sospita, as the only sources that we have for the identification of the goddess are from the Roman period.[13] In these sources, Juno has all the characteristics of a protective goddess, beginning with the epithet Sospita that presents her as the 'savior', or 'the saving'.[14] From her hill top sanctuary, she looked over Lanuvium, with which she had a special relationship.[15] In line with her part in the negotiations after the Latin war, we hear of Juno Sospita often in relation to the affairs and officials of the Roman state. The consuls went to Lanuvium to worship once a year, and the most important magistrate—in Lanuvium known by the ancient name of *dictator*—was a Roman senator as well.[16]

Juno Sospita's guardian role is also evident from the number of prodigies (*prodigia*) and expiations (*procurationes*) that happened in Lanuvium during the Roman wars in the east and especially during the Punic wars and Hannibal's march through Italy. Apart from Rome, there was no place in Italy where Livy reports so many of these divine interventions, ranging from nestling ravens in the temple to rains of stones and the birth of a hermaphrodite.[17] Even if literary commonplaces are plentiful and standardized patterns are clearly visible, the position of Lanuvium in this discourse of *prodigia* and *procurationes* is remarkable. Livy presents the site as a place where, during the third and second centuries BCE, the concern of the gods for the affairs

12 As excavations on the southeastern terraces show: see Zevi, Santi, and Attenni 2011, 197–201.

13 Hermans 2012, 331.

14 Harmon 1986, 1967–1968.

15 Ovid (*Fast.* 6.60) has the goddess talking about the city as 'my own' and Silius Italicus (*Pun.* 8.360) labels it *Iunonia sedes*.

16 In *Mur.* 90.2–4, Cicero claims that all consuls were supposed to worship in Lanuvium. For Lucius Murena, a consul who came from that town, these ancestral sacrifices were especially important. A well-known *dictator* from Lanuvium was Milo (Cic. *Mil.* 27, 45). Other *dictatores*: *CIL* I 1428; XIV 2097; 2110; 2121. *Allectus inter dictatores*: *CIL* XIV 4178.

17 *Prodigia* and *procurationes* in Lanuvium: Livy 21.62.4; 23.31.15; 24.10.6; 29.14.3; 31.12.6; 32.9.2; 35.9.4; 40.19.2; 41.21.13; 42.2.4; 45.16.5; Jul. Obs. *Prod. Lib.* 6, 9, 11, 12, 20, 46. For this list in comparison with other divine interventions in Roman Italy, see Orlin 2010, 145–146.

of the Roman state became more manifest than elsewhere. Whereas his narrative on the aftermath of the Latin wars emphasizes that the pre-Roman cult was mostly a Lanuvian or Latin affair, this historical discourse emphasizes how the Roman cause had become the Lanuvian cause and vice versa. In the light of new, overseas, enemies, the Latins and Romans had a joint war to win and Livy's series of portents suggests that Juno Sospita's role of protectress and guardian of the community now extended to the Roman people as well. By recognizing the *prodigia* and responding to them, the Senate secured the support of the goddess and at the same time underlined its own religious authority, which now extended to cults that were once distinctively non-Roman.[18]

Finally, and perhaps most significantly, the protective role of the goddess is emphasized by her iconography. As it happens, we have a passage from Cicero that very nicely illustrates this (*Nat. D.* 1.82):

> … Precisely as much as you believe Juno Sospita of your native place to be a goddess. You never see her, even in your dreams, unless equipped with goat-skin, spear, shield and slippers turned up at the toe. Yet that is not the aspect of the Argive Juno, nor of the Roman. It follows that Juno has one form for the Argives, another for the people of Lanuvium, and another for us.
>
> tr. RACKHAM

> … tam hercle quam tibi illam vestram Sospitam. Quam tu numquam ne in somnis quidem vides nisi cum pelle caprina, cum hasta, cum scutulo, cum calceolis repandis: at non est talis Argia nec Romana Iuno. Ergo alia species Iunonis Argivis, alia Lanuvinis, alia nobis.

So here, Velleius, a character in Cicero's *De natura deorum* who was apparently from Lanuvium, is told that Juno's appearance in her Lanuvian cult is not universal; he also hears the elements of that appearance: a goatskin, a spear and shield and, very characteristic, shoes with upturned toes.[19] It is a distinct, mil-

18 For an overview of the *prodigia* and *procurationes* in republican Rome, and the way the Senate dealt with them, see MacBain 1982, Kragelund 2001, Rasmussen 2003, 183–198, Rosenberger 2005.

19 The *calcei repandi*, so prominent in Cicero's description, were definitely out of fashion by his time. They appear very often on the feet of gods on Etruscan vases from the fifth century BCE, but by the time of the middle and late Republic, they were the exclusive attribute of Juno Sospita. See Bonfante 2003, 60–61.

FIGURE 8.2A RRC *316/1* Denarius *of Thorius Balbus, 105 BCE*
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FIGURE 8.2B RRC *412/1* Denarius *of L. Roscius Fabatus, 64 BCE*
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itaristic look that is clearly recognizable from iconographic representations as well. There are a number of scattered finds from the fifth and sixth centuries BCE that show a figure like this, although they are from an Etruscan environment that cannot be connected to Lanuvium.[20] The representations from the late second century BCE onwards show a much more stable and standardized image of Juno Sospita, which can be pretty securely connected to the sanctuary in Lanuvium. The development is most clearly visible on a number of coin series, of which the first issue dates to about 105 BCE and was minted by the *monetarius* L. Thorius Balbus.[21]

Like quite a few moneyers after him, he depicts a bust of Juno on the obverse of his coins, with the characteristic goatskin and horns clearly visible and

20 The finds include a large amphora from Cervetri (Ducati 1932, 14, Fig. 13), now in the British Museum, a gold ring, and some bronze figurines. For an overview, see Douglas 1913, 62–67, Chiarucci 1983, 56–65, la Rocca 1990, 815–820.

21 *RRC* 316/1. See Fig. 8.2a.

FIGURE 8.2C RIC *III 608* Sestertius *of Antoninus Pius, 140–144 CE*
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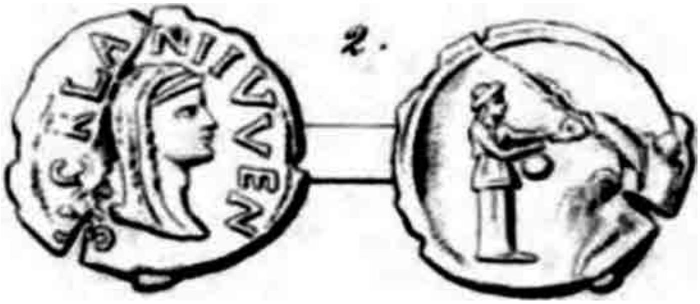

FIGURE 8.2D *Lead* tessera *found in Lanuvium. Legend: SACR(A) LANI(VINA).*
FROM ROSTOVTZEFF 1900, 82 NO. 2

her name in the abridged form ISMR (*Iuno Sospita Mater Regina*).[22] In other issues, such as a widely circulated *denarius* of Lucius Procilius, minted in 80 BCE, she is depicted in full length, in a battle pose with raised weapons and upturned shoes.[23] The image is very stable and remained largely the same in the Empire, when we see it returning on *sestertii* of Antoninus Pius and *sestertii* and *aurei* of Marcus Aurelius, with his son Commodus on the obverse.[24] Important to remark here, is that there is a clear connection between the image of the goddess and the moneyers depicting that image: for most of the *monetarii* striking the issues, we can prove that their families were actually

22 There are 14 coin types from 7 different *monetarii*: L. Thorius Balbus: *RRC* 316/1; L. Procilius: *RRC* 379/1–2; Lucius Papius: *RRC* 472/1, 472/3. Lucius Papius Celsus: *RRC* 384/1; L. Roscius Fabatus: *RRC* 412/1; Quintus Cornificius: *RRC* 509/1–5; M. Mettius: *RRC* 480/2, 480/23.

23 *RRC* 379/1.

24 Antoninus Pius: *RIC* III 608; Marcus Aurelius: *RIC* III 1583. For the first, see Fig. 8.2c.

from the town of Lanuvium.[25] This underlines Cicero's claim: the image of Juno Sospita was specific for Lanuvium alone and the moneyers used it to promote their ancient Latin *origo*. This is also true for both Antoninus Pius and Commodus, who, according to the *Historia Augusta*, were born there.[26] The biggest representation we have of the goddess, a colossal full-length cult statue now in the Vatican Museums, may also be connected to this phenomenon: it is dated to the Antonine period and it may be a sign that the Antonines promoted their *origo* in much the same way as the republican *monetarii* did, although with slightly larger means.[27]

## 3 The Goddess and the Serpent

Was this protective image the only form of representation of the goddess? Modern authors, most notably Georges Dumézil, have labeled Juno Sospita's political aspect as secondary and have connected the goddess primarily with the so-called feminine spheres of life, such as maternity, virginity, and fertility.[28] Part of this argumentation is based on the full name with which she appears on some of the inscriptions found at the sanctuary: *Iuno Sospita Mater Regina*, or, in the abridged form ISMR.[29] Dumézil argued that the use of *Mater* was not an empty formulaic gesture: the position of the epithet right after the original name of the goddess would underline the significance of female worshippers in the cult.[30] Later authors have supported this argument, emphasizing the specific female preoccupations of the goddess.[31] This gender specificity of the cult is not supported by the epigraphic evidence nor by the votives found on the

25 Lucius Thorius Balbus: Cic. *Fin.* 2.63.3–4; Roscius Fabatus: Cic. *Div.* 1.79; Lucius Papius and Lucius Papius Celsus: Cic. *Mil.* 53.13–16. For further details, see Chiarucci 1983, 44–46, Farney 2007, 68–74, 260, 267, 270.

26 SHA *Ant. Pius* 1.2; SHA *Comm.* 1.2.

27 See Fig. 8.3. For the statue, see Hafner 1966, 197–198, Martin 1987, 112, la Rocca 1990, 822–823. The provenance of the sculpture is unknown. An acrolithic head, found on the temple grounds but now unfortunately lost, may have been part of a cult statue as well. It has been dated to the first century BCE and has holes on the lateral sides, which could have served for the fixation of a headdress: Martin 1987, 112–120.

28 Dumézil 1974, 294–297.

29 Inscriptions with this name: *CIL* XIV 2088; 2089; 2090; 2091; 2121.

30 Dumézil 1974, 294–297.

31 Palmer 1974, 26, Scullard 1981, 71, Hänninen 1999, 35–36, Boëls-Janssen 1993, 472–473, Attenni 2009, 20–22.

FIGURE 8.3 *Colossal statue of Juno Sospita, Antonine period. Now in the Vatican museums, inv. no. 241.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR

site, and in the matter of Juno's name it is useful to call attention to the investigations of Robert Palmer, who has convincingly argued that the epithet *Mater* can also have a purely honorific function and could thus be used for deities that had no primary cultic relation to fertility, pregnancy, or parenthood.[32] Vesta Mater is one example, or—in the male domain—Mars Pater.[33] Juno Sospita's name, therefore, is no conclusive evidence for the classification of her temple in Lanuvium as a primarily female place of worship.

There is however another and more prominent reason for this assumption and for that we need to look into a source that has highly influenced the characterization of the cult in Lanuvium as a women's cult. It is one of the *Elegiae* of Propertius, in which he describes the town as the scene of a peculiar fertility rite (Prop. 4.8.3–17):

> Lanuvium has enjoyed from of old the protection of an ancient serpent
> (an hour spent here on so infrequent a visit is well worth while).
> Where the sacred slope is reft by a dark chasm,
> at that point the offering to the hungry serpent makes its way
> —maiden, beware of all such paths—when he demands his annual tribute
> and hurls hisses from the depths of the earth.
> He seizes the morsel held out to him by the virgin:
> the very basket trembles in the virgin's hands.
> Maidens sent down to such a rite turn pale
> when blindly entrusting their hand to the serpent's lips.
> If they have been chaste, they return to embrace their parents,
> and the farmers cry: 'It will be a fruitful year'.
> Hither my Cynthia drove off in a chaise drawn by close-clipped ponies:
> she pleaded the rites of Juno, but they were rather those of Venus.
> tr. GOOLD

> Lanuvium annosi vetus est tutela draconis:
> hic tibi tam rarae non perit hora morae.
> qua sacer abripitur caeco descensus hiatu,
> hac penetrat (virgo, tale iter omne cave!)

32 Palmer 1974, 26, cf. Schultz 2006b, 217. On the gender specificity of cults, often based on modern preconceptions rather than ancient practices, see Schultz 2006a. I will present a full overview of the epigraphic evidence in my thesis (forthcoming).

33 Both Vesta Mater and Mars Pater appear in the annals of the *fratres Arvales*: *CIL* XIV 2074.10–12.

> ieiuni serpentis honos, cum pabula poscit
> annua et ex ima sibila torquet humo.
> ille sibi admotas a virgine corripit escas:
> virginis in palmis ipsa canistra tremunt.
> talia demissae pallent ad sacra puellae,
> cum temere anguino creditur ore manus.
> si fuerunt castae, redeunt in colla parentum,
> clamantque agricolae 'fertilis annus erit'.
> huc mea detonsis avectast Cynthia mannis:
> causa fuit Iuno, sed mage causa Venus.

Propertius tells us that his Cynthia, on her way perhaps to an encounter with another lover, went to a rite that involved young girls entering the cave of a giant serpent, to ensure—provided that the girls were virgins and their offerings were accepted—prosperous crops for the following year.[34] The serpent, described by the author as *draco*, apparently noticed whether the virgins where impure as he seized the food from their hands, making it a terrifying experience for the girls. The account seems obviously fictional at first sight, a giant virgin-eating snake being a typical example of the sort of mythical creatures that the Augustan writers imagined in the wild landscape of the Alban Hills. But does this mean that there was no connection with the ritual proceedings at the sanctuary in Lanuvium? And is there any reason to connect Juno Sospita with the *draco*, as interpreters like Dumézil have done?

To answer these questions, we must first look into the literary context of the peculiar ritual, because Propertius' narrative does not stand on its own, and neither does the *draco* that is at its center. To start with, the story is reproduced in the third century CE by Aelian, who came from nearby Praeneste and presents a more detailed and curiously different version of the rite (Ael. *NA* 11.16):

> It seems that one peculiarity of snakes is their faculty of divination … There is a sacred grove in Lavinium of wide area and thickly planted, and nearby is a shrine to Hera of Argolis. And in the grove there is a vast and deep cavern, and it is the lair of a Serpent. And on certain fixed days holy maidens enter the grove bearing a barley cake in their hands and with their eyes covered. And divine inspiration leads them

34 Heyworth 2007, 245–247. That Cynthia was on her way to another lover, or that Propertius was afraid of that scenario, is implied by the reference to Venus.

straight to the Serpent's resting-place, and they move forward without stumbling and at a gentle pace just as if they saw with their eyes unveiled. And if they are virgins, the Serpent accepts the food as sacred and as fit for a creature beloved of god. Otherwise the food remains untasted, because the Serpent already knows and has divined their impurity. And ants crumble the cake of the deflowered maid into small pieces so that they can be carried easily, and transport them out of the grove, cleansing the spot. And inhabitants get to know what has occurred and the maidens who came in are examined, and the one who has shamed her virginity is punished in accordance with the law. This is the way in which I would demonstrate the faculty of divination in serpents.

tr. SCHOLFIELD, adapted

ἴδιον δὲ ἦν ἄρα τῶν δρακόντων καὶ ἡ μαντική … ἐν τῷ Λαουινίῳ ἄλσος τιμᾶται μέγα καὶ δασύ, καὶ ἔχει πλησίον νεὼν Ἥρας Ἀργολίδος. ἐν δὲ τῷ ἄλσει φωλεός ἐστι μέγας καὶ βαθύς, καὶ ἔστι κοίτη δράκοντος. παρθένοι τε ἱεραὶ νενομισμέναις ἡμέραις παρίασιν ἐς τὸ ἄλσος ἐν τοῖν χεροῖν φέρουσαι μάζαν καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τελαμῶσι κατειλημμέναι· ἄγει δὲ αὐτὰς εὐθύωρον ἐπὶ τὴν κοίτην τοῦ δράκοντος πνεῦμα θεῖον, καὶ ἀπταίστως προΐασι βάδην καὶ ἡσυχῇ, ὥσπερ οὖν ἀκαλύπτοις ὁρῶσαι τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς. καὶ ἐὰν μὲν παρθένοι ὦσι, προσίεται τὰς τροφὰς ἅτε ἁγνὰς ὁ δράκων καὶ πρεπούσας ζῴῳ θεοφιλεῖ· εἰ δὲ μή, ἄψαυστοι μένουσι, προειδότος αὐτοῦ τὴν φθορὰν καὶ μεμαντευμένου. μύρμηκες δὲ τὴν μάζαν τὴν τῆς διακορηθείσης ἐς μικρὰ καταθρύψαντες, ὡς ἂν εὔφορα αὐτοῖς ᾖ, εἶτα ἐκφέρουσιν ἔξω τοῦ ἄλσους, καθαίροντες τὸν τόπον. γνωρίζεταί τε ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τὸ πραχθέν, καὶ αἱ παρελθοῦσαι ἐλέγχονται, καὶ ἥ γε τὴν παρθενίαν αἰσχύνασα ταῖς ἐκ τοῦ νόμου κολάζεται τιμωρίαις. μαντικὴν μὲν δὴ δρακόντων ἂν ἀποφήναιμι τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον.

Remarkably, Aelian substitutes Lavinium for Lanuvium and labels the temple as that of Hera of Argolis. The association is interesting in itself, considering the fact that at her famous cult centre in Argos, Hera was mainly worshipped as a patron deity of the *polis*, but was also—with the epithet Eileithyia—connected to motherhood and childbirth.[35] Moreover, Aelian's version of the ritual provides us with details that are lacking in Propertius' description: he describes the girls as blindfolded, and says that they were guided through divine inspiration; the food is identified as barley cakes (μάζα) and if it was

35 For an introduction to the site of the Hera sanctuary at Argos, see Tomlinson 1972, 230–246, Hall 1995, Strøm 1998. On Eileithyia at Argos, see Paus. 2.22.6.

refused, it was cleaned away by ants.[36] The impure girl was then punished by the community, instead of—as Propertius seems to imply—being devoured by the snake.

In the anonymous and curious Greek work known as the *Parallela minora*, the Lanuvian *drakôn* appears as well, with a priestess who was sent to it by the goddess Vesta.[37] This, and especially Aelian's more elaborate version of the tale shows how intertwined the story of the snake rite at Lanuvium was with discourses on the tending of sacred *dracones* elsewhere in the Mediterranean. In the mythological sphere, there is of course the Colchian dragon, the giant serpent that guarded the golden fleece in the cave of Aris and was—in one version of the tale—put to sleep by Medea.[38] The Hesperides, mythological nymphs that guarded Hera's golden apples are known for taking care of the *drakôn* Ladon.[39] Slightly more tangible are the *draco*-tending girls and priestesses that are associated with cult practices around the Mediterranean, as Ogden has investigated in a recent book on dragon myths and cults in antiquity.[40] For example, in the same section where Aelian informs us about the rite at 'Lavinium', he mentions an oracular shrine for Apollo in Epirus, with a grove full of snakes that descended directly from the Python at Delphi.[41] Once a year, the snakes were fed by a virgin priestess: if they accepted the food, it would be a prosperous year; if they refused it, they prophesied the opposite.[42]

An even more intriguing parallel is presented by Pausanias, who explains the story of origin of a sanctuary on mount Cronius, in the *polis* Elis near Olympia.[43] It was devoted to a serpent-god with the suggestive name Sosipo-

36 Ogden 2013, 204–206.

37 The work was once attributed to Plutarch, but on the basis of stylistic arguments this has now been refuted, although it is thought to be composed sometime around Plutarch's era. Cf. Pailler 1997, 517–520.

38 The main sources for the myth are Eur. *Med.* 480–482, Pind. *Pyth.* 2.424–450, Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 4.123–166, Diod. Sic. 4.48, Ov. *Met.* 7.149–158, Val. Flacc. *Argon.* 8.54–121, Mart. 12.53, and shorter references in other texts. The earliest evidence of the Colchian dragon is visual: it appears on the so-called Duris cup, a red-figure cylix, datable to 480–470 BCE. See further, also for bibliographical references Ogden 2013, 58–63, 202.

39 They appear, for example, in Hes. *Theog.* 333–336, Soph. *Trach.* 1089–1100, Verg. *Aen.* 4.480–486, and Ov. *Met.* 4.643–648. For further ancient sources and modern literature, see McPhee 1990, Ogden 2013, 33–40.

40 Ogden 2013, see in particular chapter 5 'Masters and Mistresses of *drakontes*'.

41 Ael. *NA* 11.2.

42 Cf. Luc. *Astr.* 23.

43 Paus. 6.20.2–6. For a discussion of this cult, see Sinn 2004, 84–86, Mitropoulou 1977, 62–63. It has been suggested that the cult was related to that of Zeus Sosipolis but apart from the

lis—'savior of the state'. As Pausanias explains, the cult was instituted after an important victory of the Eleans over the Arcadians. Just before the battle, a woman appeared with a baby boy suckling at her breast. At the sight of the approaching enemy, the boy turned into a giant *drakôn* and threw the frightened Arcadians into disarray. Afterwards, the *drakôn* named Sosipolis disappeared into the ground and on that spot he was worshipped by the Eleans, along with the woman suckling him, who was recognized as the goddess Eileithyia.[44] Again, the description of the rites for the serpent has familiar characteristics. An old woman who looked after Sosipolis was supposed to live in chastity, and could only approach the deity carrying a white veil over her head and face. She brought water for his baths and fed him with barley cakes kneaded with honey.[45] Several elements in this literary discourse provide a context for the Lanuvium story: the *lucus* or cave where the *drakôn* was hidden, the blinded (virgin or chaste) women that were supposed to look after it, and the ritual food offerings, sometimes specified as μάζαι (barley cakes).

## 4 Early-Christian Serpent Slayers

We encounter Lanuvium's serpent rite a final time in the work of Quodvultdeus, a bishop from fifth-century Carthage. He presents a bizarre version of the story, in which a monk investigates the curious ritual (Quodvult. *Lib. Prom.* 3.43):

> Near the city of Rome there was a certain cave in which appeared a serpent of remarkable size, mechanically produced, wielding a sword in his mouth, with glittering gems for his eyes, fearful and terrible. Every year, virgins, his promised victims, adorned with flowers were sacrificed to him in the following way: while bearing gifts, they would unknowingly touch the step to which that serpent was attached with diabolical cunning, and thereupon the impetus of the approaching sword would kill them, so that innocent blood was shed. Now, there was a certain monk who, because of his good deeds, was well known to Stilico, the Patrician; he destroyed this serpent as follows: he examined each separate step carefully, with a stick and his own hand, until, touching the false step, he discovered the

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name and the connection with the name of the mountain (Cronius), evidence for this is lacking. See Ogden 2013, 204 n. 63.

44 The site is thought to have been identified and a small temple (of less than 10 square meters) was found. Sinn 2004, 84–85 and Fig. 67.

45 Paus. 6.20.2.

> diabolical deceit. Then, jumping over it, he went down and cut up the serpent, slashing it into pieces, demonstrating once again that what is made by human hand is not divine.
>
> Apud urbem Romam specus quidam fuit in quo draco mirae magnitudinis mechanica arte formatus, gladium ore gestans, oculis rutilantibus gemmis, metuendus ac terribilis apparebat. Huic annuae devotae virgines floribus exornatae, eo modo in sacrificio dabantur, quatenus insciae munera deferentes gradum scalae, quo certe ille arte diaboli draco pendebat, contingentes, impetus venientis gladii perimeret, ut sanguinem funderet innocentem. Et hunc quidam monachus bene ob meritum cognitus Stiliconi tunc patricio, eo modo subvertit. Baculo, manu singulos gradus palpando, inspiciens, statim ut illum tangens fraudem diabolicam reperit, eo trangresso descendens, draconem scidit, misitque in partes; ostendens et hic deos non esse qui manu fiunt.[46]

In this narrative, the terrifying serpent is in fact a mechanical device, which is triggered by stepping on one of the stairs. By destroying the mechanism, the monk saves the girls and proves the fictitious nature of the pagan gods. Once more, literary parallels can be found for the story of the Lanuvian serpent, this time in the forms of other snake-slayers in the hagiographic tradition, often clerics who went out to expose pagan rites as works of the devil.[47] The legendary acts of Saint Silvester from the fifth and sixth centuries CE, for example, present an account that shows a clear analogy to the events in Lanuvium.[48] Silvester was one of the first popes of Rome, supposedly serving during the time of Constantine the Great and even baptizing the emperor. According to one version of his biography, he was responsible for stopping a *draco* that lived in the Tarpeian Hill beneath the Capitol.[49] The Vestal virgins had been feeding the beast barley cakes on every calends, descending into the cave by a long stairway of 365 steps. But then, the *draco* unexpectedly and repeatedly came

46 The work was long thought to be written by Prosper of Aquitaine. Commentary and French translation in Braun 1964, 572–573 n. 1.

47 For a general introduction, see Pohlkamp 1983, 3–12, Rohner 1995, Ogden 2013, 382–426.

48 There are, broadly speaking, two versions of the tales of Saint Silvester. The first, known as the *Actus Silvestri*, was composed at some point in the late fourth century CE, while the second, known as the *Vita Silvestri*, was composed at the turn of the fifth and sixth centuries. See Pohlkamp 1983, 5–44, Pailler 1997, 559–568, Canella 2006, 184–188, Ogden 2013, 391–393 for the tale of the *draco* in these versions.

49 This is the more recent version of the story, which is from the fifth/sixth century CE.

up from his hole, spreading pestilence and death with its foul breath. Silvester, after due prayers and fasting, descended into the cave with his disciples and managed to lock the cave with a bronze door and bury the keys.[50] In this way, they released the city of one of its false idols.

It is of course very difficult to say anything about the historicity of the narratives and it seems clear that by the time Quodvultdeus wrote his account, he was influenced much more—if not: exclusively—by the ancient authors before him and by popular tales of saintly *draco* defeaters than by anything he himself had witnessed or heard in Lanuvium. Several elements in the early-Christian narratives, but also in the earlier stories, are clearly recognizable as literary commonplaces, and the discourse seems hard to relate to the actual cult practice of Juno Sospita and the religious landscape of the Alban Hills. Moreover, neither Propertius nor any other ancient author mentions Juno Sospita herself being involved in the rite with the serpent. Although Propertius mentions Juno as the 'excuse' for Cynthia's visit, the goddess is not described as interfering in the rite or receiving offerings. Moreover, as Celia Schultz has pointed out, even if the story of the ritual does confirm the goddess's interest in agricultural fertility, this does not necessarily imply her influence over female fertility or childbirth as well.[51]

So, we arrive at the same complexity with which we started this chapter: the ritual with the *draco* in Lanuvium looks like a literary *topos* that, although it was situated in the religious landscape of the Alban Hills, has little or nothing to do with the actual ritual proceedings in Lanuvium and the religious experience of the people visiting the sanctuary grounds. It is important to remark here, that this is not necessarily a problem that needs solving. Scholars like Paul Veyne, Henk Versnel, or—in the Roman context—Denis Feeney have argued that in studying ancient religion it makes no sense to distinguish a literary sphere from a supposedly more 'real' or believable material one.[52] Objecting to attempts

50 Cf. also Tertullian, *Ad uxorem* 1.6.3, where he identifies a dragon tended by virgin women as a work of Satan. The same motive appears in Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 5.143–148, where the tale of the *draco* in the capitol is explained as being either a fantasy or a former work of the devil. Cf. Pohlkamp 1983, 14–15, where the texts are reproduced as well.

51 Schultz 2006b, 219–220.

52 The debate on the nature of polytheistic belief has been extensive and can only be discussed briefly in this context. It was triggered by Paul Veyne 1983, in a famous essay on whether the Greeks 'really' believed in their gods. Henk Versnel introduced the term 'cognitive dissonance' (adapted from cognitive psychology) to describe universal reactions to inconsistencies in polytheistic belief systems; Versnel 1990, 2–12, Versnel 1994. Further elaboration on the theological implication of this reading can be found in Versnel 2011,

of modern scholars who tried to create one central and integrative image of a deity, they have called attention to the contextual nature of polytheistic belief systems. Educated Greeks and Romans, they argue, were perfectly able to entertain different kinds of appreciation and criteria of judgment in different contexts, in ways that strike the modern observer as mutually contradictory.[53] So, while on one occasion people would participate in the state related rites on the sanctuary grounds, they would at another moment associate the same landscape with the mythical cave of the serpent and the curious tale that went along with it. Encountering a god in a temple was, in other words, not the same as encountering a god in a poem.

## 5 Material Representations of the *draco*

Bearing this warning in mind, I want to spend the rest of this chapter on the interactions between the mythical landscape in which the *draco* resided and the material sources that reflect the cult and image of Juno Sospita. It is not my intention to smooth out possible discrepancies, but—in line with Denis Feeney—I argue that the definition and perception of a religious landscape is produced in a dialogue between different religious contexts.[54] In the case of Juno Sospita, the dialogue between literary discourse, visual representations, and the natural surroundings of Lanuvium can be traced in the sources, in a way that goes beyond the traditional division between textual and material approaches. To examine this further, we first need to go back to the iconography of the goddess. At a closer look the coin series reveal information not only on the appearance of Juno Sospita, but also on the rite with the *draco*. An issue by Roscius Fabatus for example, minted in 64 BCE, illustrates a clear allusion to it: we see a girl, who is standing opposite a serpent depicted almost as large as she is.[55] The girl seems to be carrying something, either in a bag or underneath her *stola* and the snake has its mouth wide open. The serpent, consequently, seems to be eating whatever the girl has brought him.

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which also includes an assessment of the recent developments in the debate about belief in polytheistic religions (2011, 539–559). For Roman antiquity, other important contributions include Scheid 1987, Gill and Wiseman 1993, Buxton 1994, King 2003, Ando 2008.

53 For this phenomenon in polytheistic religion, Veyne 1983, 64–74 coined the term '*balkanisation des cerveaux*', or brain-balkanization.

54 Feeney 1998, 21.

55 *RRC* 412/1. See Fig. 8.2b.

Obviously, this is a representation of the agricultural ritual described by Propertius and later authors, which thus also makes an appearance in the material sources. Other coin issues refer to the *draco* and the ritual as well. Lucius Papius Celsus, a *monetarius* from 45 BCE, presents almost the same iconography as Roscius Fabatus, although here it is more obvious that the girl is carrying a bowl.[56] Less prominent, but still clearly present, are the serpents that accompany Juno Sospita on the reverse of the *denarii* of Lucius Procilius, from 80 BCE.[57] On one of the issues the serpent is depicted at her feet, on the other we see it under her *bigae*. Interestingly, four of the *tesserae* issued by the Lanuvian youth organization in the first century CE, show the same image of a girl approaching a serpent, very similar to that on the *denarii* of Roscius Fabatus and Papius Celsus.[58] The association is persistent: on the imperial coins of Antoninus Pius and Commodus, issued in the second century CE, the goddess is striding forward in a battle stance, the serpent at her feet moving in the same direction.[59]

It has already been observed that Juno Sospita is not actually described as taking part in the rite of the girls feeding the sacred snake, but the coins show that she was nevertheless associated with it. What also becomes clear from the numismatic evidence is that Propertius did not invent the connection between goddess and serpent himself, since all the republican coin issues preceded the composition and publication of the *Elegiae*.[60] The coins reflect the traditions surrounding the *draco* and at the same time may have reinforced them and introduced them to a bigger audience. Since the creature is lacking on all the early iconographic representations of Juno Sospita from the fifth and fourth centuries BCE, it could be tentatively argued that the goddess had not always been associated with a serpent rite, but that she was connected to it sometime between the fourth and the early first century BCE. However, considering the very limited amount of images we have of the goddess, this chronological development is far from clear.

56 *RRC* 472/3. For the *monetarii* mentioned here, see pp. 202 f. of this chapter.

57 *RRC* 379/1 and *RRC* 379/2.

58 See Fig. 8.2d. Rostovtzeff and Prou 1900, 80–81. The similarity does not need to surprise us, since lead *tesserae* in general look very similar to coins and were—according to most scholars—sometimes even used as such when there was a shortage of small change, which was probably the case during the reign of Nero when the Lanuvian *tesserae* were made. Alternatively, or additionally, the coins may have been used as tickets for theater plays and gladiatorial games. See further Crawford 1970, Thornton 1980.

59 *RIC* III Antoninus Pius 608, Commodus 1583. See the *sestertius* in Fig. 8.2c.

60 The *Elegiae* are dated to the years between 30 and 22 BCE.

At this point, it is important to acknowledge that the village of Lanuvium was not only known for its cult of Juno Sospita, but also for the agricultural rite that involved young girls and a serpent. Already in antiquity, both discourses were connected and although it remains highly insecure what the exact relation was between the literary sources about the *draco* and the (state regulated) cult practice on the sanctuary grounds, the story of the ritual adds another perspective to our understanding of the character of Juno Sospita. Apart from her rather obvious competence in military and political matters, she may have had an influence on agricultural matters as well. At least for some worshippers visiting the sanctuary, the snake and the girls formed part of their knowledge of the site and the goddess, and therefore the ritual—as a literary discourse, but also as the visual representation of that discourse—was an integral part of the religious landscape of Lanuvium.

## 6 A Physical Cave for the *draco*?

For the final part of this chapter I want to take this investigation one step further and hypothesize on how exactly Juno Sospita's sanctuary in Lanuvium became associated with the literary motive of the *draco* and the virgins, a discourse that was otherwise only linked to sanctuaries in the eastern half of the Mediterranean. What was it that triggered the connection and why was it so persistent over the course of multiple centuries? May we perhaps imagine a physical location for the rite, or a ritual performance of some kind?

While some of these questions must unfortunately remain unanswered, our aim to study the religious landscape of Lanuvium as a whole may incite us to look again at the material remains of the sanctuary. Are there any signs that the story had a place there as well and that the discourse of the *draco* was not only materialized in the coins and *tesserae*, but also localized in the surroundings of Juno's temple? The question is not new: in fact, the earliest observers and excavators of the sanctuary were highly intrigued by the serpent rite and actively searched for a location that was appropriate for it. Rodolfo Lanciani, for example, believed that the snake was not an empty symbol, but that 'a live specimen of a particular species' was kept in a cave, adjoining the temple.[61] At the far north end of the portico, discovered and restored in the

61 Lanciani 1901, 127. The archaeologist sees this confirmed by a large and harmless species of snakes, living in the Roman countryside and called 'serpenti della regina' by the peasants. He identifies them as descendants of the serpents that escaped the sanctuary after its

first archaeological campaigns of Lord Savile, a small opening was found that led into a man-made corridor in the rock behind it. Although the corridor is part of the monumentalized outline of the sanctuary and the surroundings can hardly be described as a cave or a grove, the entry is narrow enough and the passage seems to go quite far into the rock, causing archaeologists to believe that this was where the terrified girls went down.[62]

However, other than the somewhat evocative entrance, there is no evidence to support this claim. In recent speleological campaigns, the passage into the rock was partly cleared and investigated, as were the small rooms adjoining it.[63] What the researchers identified, was essentially a hydraulic structure, and nothing in it designated it as a ritual space: the elements in the corridor are clearly functional in the transport and storage of water and not a single sign of religious activity was found.[64] In this case, the combination of literary sources and archaeological evidence turns out to be rather problematic and methodological problems seem almost inevitable, if we continue searching for the physical surroundings of a ritual of which we know the details mainly through poetry.

Nonetheless, a recent and rather accidental discovery near Juno Sospita's sanctuary in Lanuvium may serve as a reason not to abandon this approach altogether. In the summer of 2012, a special heritage protection team of the Guardia di Finanza in Rome interrupted an illegal excavation at the locality of Pantanacci, about 1.5 km from the sanctuary at the northern end of the Colle San Lorenzo. What was discovered, and was about to be shipped off to the Asian market, was a votive deposit of enormous dimensions. For the protection of the site, there was an emergency excavation in 2012 and the investigations

destruction. Although there is no evidence in the case of Lanuvium, the keeping of actual snakes is not unheard of in antiquity. See Ogden 2013, 347–382, who presents a number of ancient examples and modern comparanda. See also the chapter by Margaret Miles in this volume.

62 Chiarucci 1983, 258–261, Coarelli 1981, 231 n. 6, Coarelli 1987, 161 n. 6. Cf. Attenni 2009, 20–22. The corridor became known as the 'antro del serpente' and is labeled as such on the information signs for visitors at the site. See Figs. 8.4a–b.

63 The first research was undertaken by the Centro Ricerche Sotterranee Egeria and published in Attenni 2009, 20–22. Recently, the excavations were continued and expanded by the Centro Ricerche Speleo Archeologiche. For a report on this investigation, see Paglia 2014.

64 Attenni 2009, 22, Paglia 2014, 13. The use of the corridor cannot be fully reconstructed yet, but probably changed over the centuries. While it was probably built for the storage and transportation of water, it may have functioned in a later period as an entry to a system of passages underneath the sanctuary.

FIGURE 8.4A *Entrance of the so-called 'antro del serpente', in the porticus of the sanctuary of Juno Sospita*
PHOTO: AUTHOR

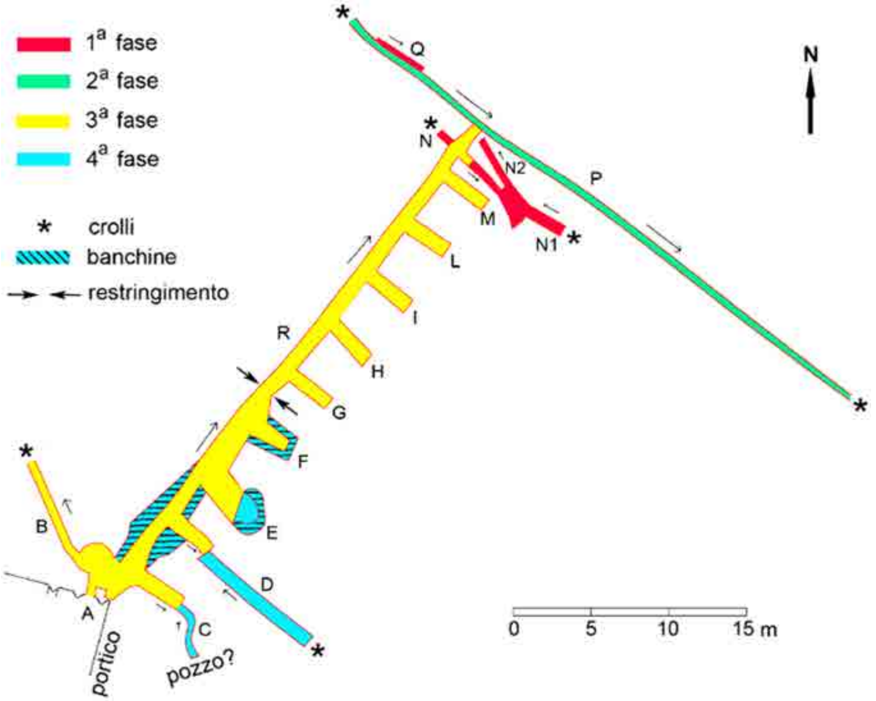


FIGURE 8.4B *Corridor of the so-called 'antro del serpente'*
FROM PAGLIA 2014, FIG. 10

continued over 2013 and 2014.[65] They revealed a natural cave, enlarged by human hands and made approachable with large peperino slabs. There are several cavities cut into the back wall of the cave and man-made tunnels create a running water stream with a little lake, as they must have done in antiquity.[66] The research is ongoing and a definitive reconstruction of the complexity of the system cannot be given at this stage, but considering the dimensions of the cave, the human interventions in the landscape and the remarkable amount of votive material, it is clear that we are dealing with a ritual space of considerable interest.[67]

65 The first results were published in Attenni and Ghini 2014 and, for a larger audience, in Attenni, Calandra, Ghini, and Rossi 2013. The excavations are expected to continue for several years, provided funding is available and legal issues regarding the land ownership will be solved.

66 Attenni and Ghini 2014, 155. See Fig. 8.5a.

67 The excavated area has an approximate length of 15 m, while the cave is roughly 10 m deep. A large portion of the ridge under which the cave is situated is unexplored, as is the path leading to it and the area further downstream, so more results are anticipated.

FIGURE 8.5A *Pantanacci votive deposit, exterior, interior, and site plan of the cave, current state of excavations*
UPPER PHOTO BY AUTHOR, LOWER PHOTOS ADAPTED FROM ATTENNI 2014, FIG. 2

For the dating of the cave we must rely mainly on the votive offerings that were found there in large quantities. For most of the more than 1000 objects that have been investigated so far, a chronology between the fourth and third centuries BCE can be established.[68] The finds include ceramics, small bronzes and terracotta statuettes, but mostly—in line with other votive deposits in the region—anatomical votives, amongst which unique and previously unknown models of lower jaws.[69] What is remarkable about these offerings is that they were preserved in the context in which they were placed: in and near the cavities in the walls, or bundled in groups on the floor of the cave, surrounded by stones to keep them from moving. Some of the ceramic objects seem to have been laid directly on the floor stones, where water flowed over them.[70] The ritual activity, therefore, was at least partly concentrated around the running water, to which the visitors perhaps attributed healing qualities. The finding of seeds, oyster shells, and animal bones shows that food offerings were part of the religious ceremonies as well, as do traces of burning.[71] All in all, the Pantanacci votive deposit allows us a glimpse into the functioning and significance of a *lucus* (a sacred grove), which is a rare opportunity in the study of the religious landscape of the Alban Hills.[72]

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68 Attenni and Ghini 2014, 156.

69 See Fig. 8.5b. For the percentages of the different votives attested, see the diagram in Attenni and Ghini 2014, 158. An introduction to Mediterranean votive religion in general—with relating debates on Romanization and medical knowledge—can be found in Schultz 2006a, 95–120. For the region discussed here, the studies of Fenelli 1975 and Comella 1981 are of crucial importance. They have classified and categorized the material from the vast majority of Etruscan, Latial, and Campanian votive deposits, thus providing the basis for a comparison between different sites. Considering the visibility of the tongue, uvula, and larynx, it could be hypothesized that the lower jaw models were offered by people seeking a cure for diphtheria. Cf. Attenni, Calandra, Ghini, and Rossi 2013, 23–25.

70 As is also clear from the concretions visible on the pottery.

71 Attenni and Ghini 2014, 157.

72 Sacred groves, referred to as *luci* or *nemora*, are quite well known in the study of ancient religion and especially in the context of ancient Latium. In Roman historiography, they are described as religious and political meeting places for Latin tribes, dating back to pre-Roman times: Sherwin-White 1973, 11–20, Cornell 1995, 293–298, Cornell 2000, 219–220. As such, we have little or no archaeological evidence for them, although a number of votive deposits in the region could certainly be qualified as early rural sanctuaries: Attenni and Ghini 2014, 159–160. Further elaboration on (sacred) groves can be found in the conference proceedings of a colloquium on the subject: Scheid and de Cazanove 1993, with a useful discussion of the terminology by Scheid 1993.

FIGURE 8.5B *Pantanacci votive deposit, part of the finds. Encircled: anatomical models of lower jaw.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR

Unfortunately, awaiting further research, many questions must remain open. Perhaps the first issue coming to mind is the relationship between the Pantanacci deposit and the sanctuary of Juno Sospita. Despite their close proximity, the first investigations at the grove revealed nothing that could link both cult centers. This changed at the beginning of 2014, when an important discovery was made just outside of the entrance of the cave. Four carved cylindrical blocks of peperino came to light, of considerable size and weight; two of the four have an incised groove spiraling over their entire length.[73] What makes these blocks so interesting, is that they bear a pattern of scales, inscribed lightly but unmistakably. Considering the shape and pattern, the excavating researchers have identified the peperino blocks as parts of a giant statue of a snake, which could have been more than 3 m in its original length.[74] This obviously and immediately brings to mind the poetical accounts of the

73 See Fig. 8.6. I am very grateful to Dr. Luca Attenni, who allowed me to inspect and study the stones myself.

74 Attenni and Ghini 2014, 158.

FIGURE 8.6 *Peperino blocks found at Pantanacci votive deposit. With detail of scale pattern.*
UPPER PHOTO FROM ATTENNI 2014, FIG. 8, DETAIL PHOTO BY AUTHOR

*draco* and of the *lucus* in which it lived according to Propertius, Aelian, and other authors. Has the cave in which the virgins underwent their terrifying experience at long last been found? Were the scaled cylinders part of the serpent's cult statue, as the excavating archaeologists have tentatively suggested?

Even though the peperino blocks are an exciting find, the last assumption seems a little too ambitious at this stage of the research. The dating of the stones is still uncertain and even when they turn out to represent a serpent—which seems fairly likely—this would not necessarily mean that it was a cult object. The serpent may also be a votive statue, or part of an architectural decoration. This changes the perspective on the discovery, but does not reduce its significance: it gives us a first indication of how and why the curious story of the *draco* became connected with Juno Sospita. The chronology remains uncertain, as the statue could reflect the decision of a group or an individual to make manifest an already circulating discourse, using the suggestive and sacred grove as a fitting context for it. Alternatively, the sculpture itself, already present at the site, could have been at the source of the connection between the religious landscape of Lanuvium and the myth of the serpent rite, which was then further developed by poets like Propertius. In any case, the poetical discourse and the material representation will have reinforced and reemphasized each other, triggering new stories and new images that connected the *draco* and the goddess, both to Lanuvium and to each other. This process of interaction does not necessarily interfere with the hypothesis of the excavators, as we cannot exclude that the statue played an active role in the religious proceedings at the site, being worshipped as a deity or being at the center of a ritual performance of some sort, in which the terrified girls could have had a role as well. Although the cult practice will be hard—if not impossible—to reconstruct, further study will hopefully give us a better understanding of the peperino serpent statue and its fascinating religious environment.

## 7 Conclusion

Admittedly, this chapter must end with question marks. At the present stage of research, no definitive conclusions can be drawn about the statue found at the Pantanacci cave, its relation to the votive practices at the site, and the religious proceedings at the temple of Juno Sospita. What the finds strongly suggest, however, is that the statue was a material reference to the story of the *draco*, and so it gives us an indication of how this story became interwoven with the religious landscape of Lanuvium. The narrative of the poets, the images on coins, and the natural surroundings of the Alban Hills provide different contexts for our understanding of the cult of Juno Sospita and the serpent rite. What I have tried to show, however, is that these religious categories were not isolated but actively shaped and reinforced each other. Juno Sospita

may not have participated in the rites for the serpent herself, but she was certainly connected with it, if only because they shared a place in the religious perception and self-definition of the town of Lanuvium.

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CHAPTER 9

# Charismatic Landscapes? Scenes from Central Greece under Roman Rule

*Betsey A. Robinson*

## 1 Introduction: On Charisma

The *locus classicus* for the term *charisma* is in the letters written by the Apostle Paul to the early Christian churches of Corinth and Rome in the mid-first century CE. In his first letter to the Corinthians, Paul names nine *kharismata* (χαρίσματα), meaning gifts of divine grace (1 *Cor*. 12:8–10):[1]

> To one is given through the Spirit the utterance of wisdom, and to another the utterance of knowledge according to the same Spirit, to another faith by the same Spirit, to another gifts of healing by the one Spirit, to another the working of miracles, to another prophecy, to another the discernment of spirits, to another various kinds of tongues, to another the interpretations of tongues.
>
> New Revised Standard Version

> ᾧ μὲν γὰρ διὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος δίδοται λόγος σοφίας, ἄλλῳ δὲ λόγος γνώσεως κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ Πνεῦμα, ἑτέρῳ πίστις ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ Πνεύματι, ἄλλῳ δὲ χαρίσματα ἰαμάτων ἐν τῷ ἑνὶ Πνεύματι, ἄλλῳ δὲ ἐνεργήματα δυνάμεων, ἄλλῳ δὲ προφητεία, ἄλλῳ δὲ διακρίσεις πνευμάτων, ἑτέρῳ γένη γλωσσῶν, ἄλλῳ δὲ ἑρμηνεία γλωσσῶν.

Over the generations after Paul, such powers would be gradually limited to male leaders, creating a 'charisma of office'.[2] Max Weber is largely responsible for modern interest in charisma. He shifts the sense of the term from spiritual gift to a gifted state of being:

1 For context, see Wire 1990, esp. 135–158; Nasrallah 2014. On charisma, see Potts 2009.

2 Piovanelli 2005, 396; see *Romans* 12 for collective *kharismata*, and compare 1 *Timothy* 4:14 and 2 *Timothy* 1:6 for the concentration of charismatic gifts among church leaders.

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> … by virtue of which [an individual] is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities. These are such as are not accessible to the ordinary person, but are regarded as of divine origin or exemplary … In primitive circumstances this peculiar kind of deference is paid to prophets, to people with a reputation for therapeutic or legal wisdom, to leaders in the hunt, and heroes in war. It is very often thought of as resting on magical powers.[3]

Weber emphasizes that charisma is a dynamic, reciprocal system. When an individual is vested with charismatic authority, he writes, 'it is recognition on the part of those subject to authority which is decisive for the validity of charisma'.[4] That is, an individual remains charismatic only so far as he retains a following. From Weber's work, charisma grew into a familiar term.

In this chapter, I shall explore the notion of a charisma of place, focusing on certain landscapes associated with divine intervention and revelation resulting in pronouncements and poetry. Related phenomena might include musical or athletic gifts (especially leading to victory in sacred games), or cures at healing sanctuaries, but these lie outside the bounds of the present study. I propose that a landscape, site, or region might be considered charismatic when widely believed to be a place of divine presence, or where exceptional or supernatural gifts, *kharismata*, have been, or may be, conferred by a god or gods. The importance of such places, their *value*, is rooted in narratives that localize charismatic encounters, and enhanced by ritual practices and shrines or sanctuaries. The physical setting and visual qualities—from bedrock geology and native plants to scenic views—further contribute. Human experiences were, and are, captured in ancient accounts and complemented by dramatic and poetic works which, through selective engagement, publicize charismatic qualities, while also creating alternative *imaginaires*.

As case studies, I look at Mt. Helicon and Mt. Parnassus and their most famous sanctuaries—the Thespian Mouseion and the Delphic Sanctuary of Apollo. Parnassus, Helicon, neighboring Cithaeron, and all they represented, were central to traditional, 'pagan' culture, and prominent features of the physical and conceptual backdrop to Paul's cultivation of a community. Corinthian Christianity took shape in a cosmopolitan city with easy communication and close ties to this religious heartland of old Greece, including Delphi, tradition-

3 Weber 1947, 358–359.

4 Weber 1947, 359.

ally the center of the world, as Plutarch reminds us about fifty years after Paul (*De def. or.* 401A). There in the temple of Apollo, a Pythian priestess, or Pythia, still communicated that god's wisdom to those who came to consult her.

On Helicon and Parnassus, excavated remains can be read alongside written and visual sources. While poetry and fiction are particularly attuned to physical settings and affective responses, the value of landscape also stands out in philosophical works such as Plutarch's *Dialogue on Love*, set in the Heliconian Mouseion, his *Pythian Dialogues* about Delphi, and the *Periegesis* of Pausanias (mid-second century CE). Both authors are highly selective in their coverage, favoring archaic and classical monuments and often leaving out later additions; however, while Pausanias's guide is characterized by a mix of encyclopedism, nostalgia, and piety, Plutarch portrays a past that is very alive in the present. His dialogues include casts of characters who articulate multiple positions, so the reader is challenged to recognize the actual beliefs of the author.[5] Analysis of his oeuvre reveals a 'deeply felt religiosity', and a wealth of information.[6]

*Kharismata* like those described by Paul were familiar phenomena in the Greco-Roman world of the first and second centuries CE. In Greece, as elsewhere, mountains, springs, and caves were powerful places, as recognized through rituals and sacred sites ranging from modest rural shrines of largely local interests to panhellenic sanctuaries.[7] All contributed to the sense of a region infused with divinity. The mountainous regions of Phocis and Boeotia were especially charismatic, boasting many sites known for divine presence, including a number of oracles, albeit mostly defunct by the time of Paul and Plutarch.[8]

The medium by which *kharismata* may be conveyed is another issue. Paul credits a sacred spirit, from which comes his concept of *pneumatika* (πνευματικά), spiritual things (1 *Cor.* 9:11). His discussion ties into a 'cultural fascination' with the topic in his times, and it anticipates the image of a noisy wind filling the Apostles with the Holy Spirit as tongues of fire on Pentecost in *Acts* 2:1–13.[9] Comparable concepts appear also in philosophical discourse and

5 Pausanias: Hutton 2005. Plutarch: Zagdoun 1995; McInerney 2004; Boulet 2008.

6 Hirsch-Luipold 2014, 163, 165–166; Gunkel et al. 2014, 72–73.

7 Greek mountains were not themselves worshiped, but they were seen as places often inhabited by divine beings, and they became platforms for communication; see Buxton 1992; Langdon 2000, 463–464; Sporn 2007, 42–43; 2013, 471.

8 Plutarch, *De def. or.* 411F; McInerney 2004, 46–47. For the special qualities of oracular sites, see Friese 2010; 2013.

9 Nasrallah 2014, 453–454 notes a significant increase in the use of *pneuma* and related terms in the first century CE followed by an exponential leap in the next century, due to discussion

in attempts to explain encounters with divinity that result in poetic inspiration and prophecy.[10] At Delphi, in particular, oracular *pneumatika* have been debated from the first century BCE (if not earlier) to the present, with repeated references to mantic wind (πνεῦμα μαντικόν) or similar agents.[11] The Delphic πνεῦμα has been subjected to a degree of scrutiny that rivals attention to the New Testament and to Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον, but on very different terms. One of the richest meditations on the subject appears in Plutarch's *Pythian Dialogues*, and attention has recently turned to Plutarch as a parallel or even a 'foreground' to Biblical examples.[12]

## 2 Commemorating Charisma: The Vale of the Muses

Storied sites on Helicon included Telphousa on a northern spur (Paus. 9.33.1), a cave and spring of Leibethrian nymphs, mentioned by Strabo (9.2.25) and Pausanias (9.34.4), and the oracular shrine of Trophonius at Lebadeia (Paus. 9.39.2–13).[13] The peaks were sacred to Zeus and frequented by his daughters, the Muses, and sometimes Athena (Callim. *Hymn* 5.70–136; Ov. *Met.* 5.256–259). In the opening lines of the *Theogony*, Hesiod presents Helicon as a sacred mountain, haunted by the Muses (Hes. *Theog* 1–8):

> Let us begin to sing from the Heliconian Muses,
> who possess the great and holy mountain of Helicon
> and dance on their soft feet around the violet-dark fountain
> and the altar of Cronus' mighty son.
> And after they have washed their tender skin in Permessus
> or Hippocrene or holy Olmeius,
> they perform choral dances on highest Helicon,
> beautiful, lovely ones, and move nimbly with their feet.
>
> tr. MOST

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of Paul's letters. For Paul's Judeo-Hellenic world-view, the relationship of his thought to Stoic philosophy, and his use of *pneuma*, see Engberg-Pedersen 2010. For related phenomena in Jewish tradition, see Gunkel et al. 2014, esp. 66–68.

10 *Pneuma*: Green 2009. Prophecy: Parke 1981; McInerney 2004. Poetry: Kambylis 1965; Crowther 1979.

11 See Maurizio 1995, 76 for the term and synonyms provided by the second-century CE grammarian Julius Pollux (*Onom.* 1.14).

12 Gunkel et al. 2014.

13 See Farinetti 2011 for an overview. For specific sites: Fontenrose 1969; Bonnechere 2007; Marchand 2014, 75.

Μουσάων Ἑλικωνιάδων ἀρχώμεθ᾽ ἀείδειν,
αἵ θ᾽ Ἑλικῶνος ἔχουσιν ὄρος μέγα τε ζάθεόν τε,
καί τε περὶ κρήνην ἰοειδέα πόσσ᾽ ἀπαλοῖσιν
ὀρχεῦνται καὶ βωμὸν ἐρισθενέος Κρονίωνος·
καί τε λοεσσάμεναι τέρενα χρόα Περμησσοῖο
ἢ Ἵππου κρήνης ἢ Ὀλμειοῦ ζαθέοιο
ἀκροτάτῳ Ἑλικῶνι χοροὺς ἐνεποιήσαντο,
καλοὺς ἱμερόεντας, ἐπερρώσαντο δὲ ποσσίν.

The archaic poet conjures up a numinous landscape, through which the Muses move easily, dancing across the mountain top, bathing in Hippocrene near the altar of Zeus at the peak, and probably below, in Permessus and Olmeius, a stream and a spring. He localizes his encounter in a time and place in which he was watching his sheep, characterizing his inspiration as an infusion or breath: '… they breathed divine voice into me, so that I might glorify what will be and what was before' (ἐνέπνευσαν δέ μοι αὐδὴν / θέσπιν ἵνα κλείοιμι τά τ᾽ ἐσσόμενα πρό τ᾽ ἐόντα, *Theog*. 31–32, tr. Most).

The belief that Hesiod's visitation occurred in a highland valley west of Thespiae was the basis for the foundation of the Heliconian Mouseion. Archeological exploration has offered little evidence of significant development before the Hellenistic period, though earlier material has been found in the valley and near the mountaintop.[14] With Thespian management and investments from Alexandria, Pergamon and, later, it seems, Augustan Rome, the sacred games of the Muses, or Mouseia, gained isopythian standing and came to figure among 'the most important agonistic festivals of the arts in Greece'.[15] Activity at the Mouseion seems to have peaked in the early Imperial period, and dedications continued into the fourth century CE.[16]

The Mouseion boasted a significant statue collection, but buildings are remarkably few, rather haphazardly arranged, and all Hellenistic, probably of the third century BCE (Fig. 9.1).[17] Excavations have uncovered remains of an altar, a 100-m-long stoa, and another structure, perhaps a smaller stoa. The theater was cut into the flank of the mountain. Beside the Permessus stream,

14 Roux 1954; Wallace 1974; Schachter 1986, 156–163; 2010–2011; Argoud 1996; Müller 1996; Robinson 2012. For early finds, see Schachter 1986, 157–158; Bonanno-Aravantinou 2009, 261–262.

15 Lamberton 1988, 495.

16 See Robinson 2012.

17 Roux 1954; Robinson 2012, esp. 234–242.

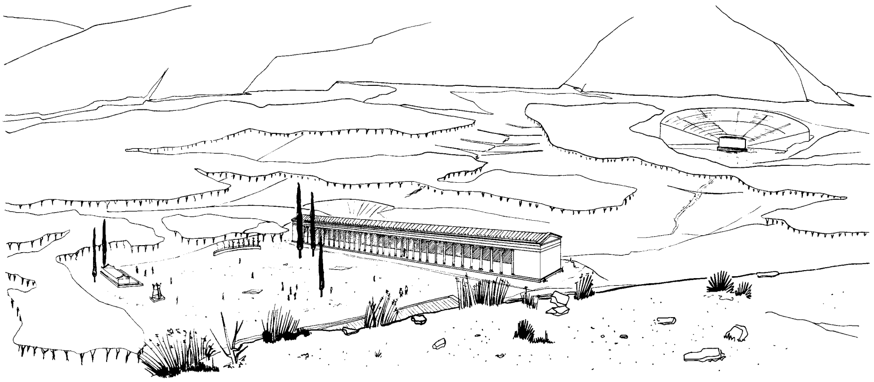

FIGURE 9.1 *The Vale of the Muses and Mouseion on Helicon, sketch reconstruction*
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a spring flowed into a basin, undated; another spring, sometimes identified as Aganippe, still rises in another corner of the valley.[18] There was no temple.

The sculpture program included Mnemosyne, the Muses and other gods, legendary poets, and human benefactors.[19] Pausanias records multiple groups of Muses (all gone, but a number of bases are preserved—at least one set inscribed with verses in the early Imperial period).[20] Apollo, Hermes, and Dionysus were present, as well as the poets Linus, Thamyris, Arion, Sacadas, and Orpheus. No representation of Hesiod is recorded, but one of the tripods displayed in the sanctuary was said to have been his, won in a contest against Homer at Chalcis (Paus. 9.31.3); this supported—and was in turn made credible by—Hesiod's claim that he dedicated that prize where he met the Muses (*Op.* 654–659). French archaeologists also uncovered bases of statues that Pausanias never mentioned—the majority commemorating Romans of the late Republic and early Empire, their portraits long gone. Such dedications peaked in the Julio-Claudian period, dominated by honors to emperor Augustus, his family, and close associates.[21]

Pausanias situates the Mouseion in a sacred grove amidst fertile fields and woods, a description influenced by sacro-idyllic conventions.[22] A couple of generations earlier, Plutarch sets his *Dialogue on Love* there, likewise representing

18 The unexcavated fountain was partially visible in the 1980s according to Roesch 1992, 270–271.

19 For reconstruction see Robinson 2012, 242–247.

20 Höschele 2014; Yannis Kalliontzis is currently restudying the Muses' bases.

21 Robinson 2012, 236–242; Marchand 2013.

22 Rocchi 1996; Robinson 2012, 252–253.

it as a *locus amoenus*. His work opens with a conversation between his son Autobulus and a friend called Flavianus.[23] Flavianus tells Autobulus to spare him the details of the landscape and get to the point (749A):

> Discard for the moment from your recital the meadows and shady nooks of the poets, the gadding growth of ivy and smilax, and all the other commonplaces on which writers seize, as they endeavor with more enthusiasm than success to endorse their work with Plato's Ilissus, his famous agnus castus and the gentle grass-grown slope.
>
> tr. HELMBOLD
>
> Ἄφελε τοῦ λόγου τὸ νῦν ἔχον ἐποποιῶν τε λειμῶνας καὶ σκιὰς καὶ ἅμα κιττοῦ τε καὶ σμιλάκων διαδρομὰς καὶ ὅσ' ἄλλα τοιούτων τόπων ἐπιλαβόμενοι γλίχονται τὸν Πλάτωνος Ἰλισσὸν καὶ τὸν ἄγνον ἐκεῖνον καὶ τὴν ἠρέμα προσάντη πόαν πεφυκυῖαν προθυμότερον ἢ κάλλιον ἐπιγράφεσθαι.

Thus Plutarch both evokes the Heliconian sanctuary and invokes the *topos* of the numinous—or charismatic—landscape. He invites close comparison to Plato's *Phaedrus*, conjuring up the very place where Socrates listened to Phaedrus's account of Lysias's discourse on love, on the grass below a plane and a chaste tree (*Vitex agnus castus*) beside a cool spring in the Ilissus valley (*Phaedr.* 230b–c). In that beautiful spot where the Nymphs' presence was marked by votive figurines, Socrates felt himself possessed, *numpholêptos* (238d):

> … truly the place seems filled with a divine presence; so do not be surprised if I often seem to be in a frenzy as my discourse progresses, for I am already almost uttering dithyrambics.
>
> tr. FOWLER
>
> τῷ ὄντι γὰρ θεῖος ἔοικεν ὁ τόπος εἶναι· ὥστε ἐὰν ἄρα πολλάκις νυμφόληπτος προϊόντος τοῦ λόγου γένωμαι, μὴ θαυμάσῃς· τὰ νῦν γὰρ οὐκέτι πόρρω διθυράμβων φθέγγομαι.

That sacred (θεῖος) place had real power over Socrates, as indicated by his changed state and meter.

By recalling Plato's Ilissus and Socrates' nympholepsy, Plutarch uses the power of suggestion to bring the charismatic qualities of the Attic valley to

23 See Roux 1954, 44; Rist 2001.

the Vale of the Muses. It is entirely appropriate for the site of Hesiod's visitation if we consider, as Plutarch probably did, that Socrates understood poetic inspiration as a comparable phenomenon: 'for all the good epic poets utter all those fine poems not from art, but as inspired and possessed, and the good lyric poets likewise' (πάντες γὰρ οἵ τε τῶν ἐπῶν ποιηταὶ οἱ ἀγαθοὶ οὐκ ἐκ τέχνης ἀλλ' ἔνθεοι ὄντες καὶ κατεχόμενοι πάντα ταῦτα τὰ καλὰ λέγουσι ποιήματα, καὶ οἱ μελοποιοὶ οἱ ἀγαθοὶ ὡσαύτως, Pl. *Ion* 533e, tr. Lamb). No poet ever presented himself as 'witless or passive', but divine intervention was an important catalyst.[24]

There are other rural sanctuaries that function as long as, or longer than, the Mouseion, and are likewise lightly developed. But rarely do we see such international involvement in a sanctuary that would remain so rustic. I have suggested elsewhere that the minimalism was by design.[25] The valley remained an ideal, pleasant site, a *locus amoenus* in homage to the Muses and their poetic charisma. The power of the place was communicated through the images of the divine Muses alongside legendary poets, some gifted, others cursed. Therein lay the value of the landscape.

Hellenistic and Imperial poets embraced the concept of Helicon as the mountain of the Muses, their interest coinciding with the growth of the sanctuary. The association survived, even as their poems transferred the power of inspiration from the Muses to mountain springs, especially Hippocrene, that violet-dark source near the peak, a two- or three-hour climb from the valley. The winged horse Pegasus was said to have created it by tapping the veins of the mountain with his hoof, an *aition* first recorded by Callimachus, who also takes the license of relocating Hesiod's inspiration from the valley to the mountaintop (*Aet.* 1, fr. 2.1–4 Pfeiffer).[26] In the fragmentary poem, Callimachus seems to dream of his own arrival as a young man to converse with the Muses on the mountain.[27] As Annette Harder points out, he exploits a well-developed convention of inspiration in a dream to transport himself into the realm of the Muses and to become more an active discussant than a receptive vessel, a more empowered poet.[28] His followers held this ground and for them, the Heliconian springs became charismatic agents. They also explored the heights; Honestus, for instance, uses the struggle to reach Hippocrene as a simile for the challenges of composition and the rewards of inspiration (*Anth. Pal.* 9.62). Some visitors

24 See Maurizio 1995, 78.

25 Robinson 2012.

26 Callim. *Aet.* 1, fr. 2 Pfeiffer; Aravantinos 1996; Robinson 2012, 247–248.

27 Harder 2012, II, 93–95.

28 Kambylis 1965, 106–109; Harder 2012, II, 94, 114.

made the climb, tasted the water, and saw artifacts that showed that it was an authentically divine place, a ἱερὸς χῶρος (Callim. *Hymn* 5.76; Paus. 9.31.4).[29] In such an environment, eloquence was a divine gift. Poets' honeyed words, in turn, reified the charisma of place.

## 3 Charismatic Chorography: Living Rock, Water, Air

The rough rocks of Parnassus were likewise riddled with caves and other landmarks that contributed to the sacred ambience. The Sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi occupies sloping ground before two great cliff faces, the Phaedriades, between which the perennial spring of Castalia emerges at an altitude of about 500 m. An ancient explanation for the choice of the site, told by Diodorus Siculus (16.26), was that goats grazing in the area exhibited unusual behavior when approaching a chasm, and their goatherds acted like they were possessed and able to foretell the future. As word spread, others came to prophesy, but as some died when driven to jump into the chasm, the local population decided to choose a single woman to serve as the medium, through whom divine communications would be channeled.[30]

Cult activity is evident from the early first millennium BCE, and the sanctuary thrived especially in the archaic and classical periods.[31] The oracle relayed Apollo's responses to human queries into the third century CE, with occasional encores into the fourth century, and the Pythian Games may have continued into the early fifth century CE.[32] After a period of relative quiescence, Delphi enjoyed a renaissance, initiated under the emperor Claudius (r. 41–54 CE). It would build under Flavian rule and culminate in the Hadrianic and Antonine periods, the so-called Second Sophistic.[33]

At an altitude of about 1,360 m, the Corycian cave is well above the Sanctuary of Apollo but still only a fraction of the way to the highest peak of Parnassus (2,457 m). Like the fountain of Hippocrene high on Helicon, the cave attracted

29 Robinson 2012.

30 Cf. Pausanias 10.5.7 and Plutarch, *De def. or.* 435D.

31 See Fontenrose 1988; Bommelaer 1991; Amandry 2000; and now Scott 2010; 2014.

32 Amandry 1950; Parke and Wormell 1956, I, 287–291; Remijsen 2015, 55–56.

33 Weir 2004, 7, 140–141 notes limited, unsystematic investment by the Julio-Claudian emperors, with the Flavians ushering in a century of imperial attention. Claudian interest is attested in an imperial letter of spring, 52 CE, which mentions Junius Gallio, proconsul of Achaea when St. Paul was in Corinth (*Acts* 18:12–17). See Jacquemin et al. 2012, 404–405, no. 221.

Imperial-era pilgrims and tourists. Plutarch mentions an evening visit in his time (*De Pyth. or.* 394F), and Pausanias considers it the cave most worth seeing in all of Greece, on account of its size and the atmospheric effects within (10.32.1–2, 7).[34] On the Marmara peak to the west (ca. 1,487 m), substantial foundations of an altar and statue bases have been found; they probably date to the Hellenistic period and indicate still higher-altitude worship.[35] These sites were fairly remote and difficult to reach, way-stations between the organized sanctuary below and the wilds of the mountain's highest peaks, where the Thyiades raved for Dionysus above the clouds (Paus. 10.32.7). Jeremy McInerney describes a dialectic between the wilderness and wild behavior on the peak and the ordered, civilized sanctuary below.[36] Similar divisions can be seen on Helicon, and Cithaeron too, where the native charisma was mediated through organized ritual at sanctuaries in the foothills, while uncontrolled—and sometimes dangerous—charisma characterized the heights.[37]

As Philip Stadter points out, Delphi was key to the Romans' sense of Greece, on a par with Athens and Sparta (and I might add Corinth), perhaps even more so than Olympia.[38] The site remained hallowed to all Greeks. McInerney argues, further, that for Plutarch, Delphi was not just centrally located and a focus of concentrated cultural memory, but remained a profoundly sacred place, suffused with Apollo's presence. He writes that 'the natural and human landscapes of Delphi are used to give substance to a new definition of Greek culture' by Plutarch, one in which the sanctuary essentially floats above Roman rule.[39] Thus, Delphi remained so central to Greek experience and memory that its inherent value (one might say, its charisma) far surpassed the power of Rome.[40] We shall return to Plutarch shortly; his testimony as a long-time priest of Apollo is especially valuable.

From Pausanias, we can reconstruct the approach to Delphi. Visitors from the east would pass west along the southern shoulder of Parnassus, on a steep and difficult road (10.5.5). Those coming by sea would land at Cirrha, the port of Delphi, cross the broad coastal plain and enter the Pleistus valley, passing the

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34 Amandry 1984.

35 McInerney 1997, 268; Sporn 2013, 467; see Amandry 1984, 427–452.

36 McInerney 1997.

37 Consider Dionysus's Maenads on Cythaeron and the Thyiades of highest Parnassus; to *see* deities at inopportune times (which sometimes happened in such environments) was also dangerous as exemplified by Actaeon and Teiresias.

38 Stadter 2004, 19.

39 McInerney 2004, 44.

40 McInerney 2004, 53.

Delphic hippodrome *en route* (10.37.4) At some distance in, they would catch the first glimpse of Apollo's sanctuary high above, then turn north and begin the climb.[41] The visual connection would be lost until they neared the gymnasium (10.8.8). Just beyond, the fountain of Castalia was good to drink (as it still is), and apparently pleasant to bathe in (10.8.9). In the *Aethiopica*, Heliodorus captures the effect (2.26.1–2):

> I sailed along the Crisaean Gulf and came to anchor at Cirrha, where I left my ship and hastened up to the city. As I entered the town, the place's own oracular voice sang in my ears in tones that truly were heaven-sent. The city seemed like an abode fit for the lords of heaven, especially regarding the nature of its surroundings: Parnassus towers above exactly like a fortress or natural citadel, enfolding the town in fond embrace.
>
> tr. MORGAN, spelling adapted

> διά τε τοῦ Κρισαίου κόλπου τῇ Κιρραίᾳ προσορμισθεὶς ἐκ νεὼς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀνέθεον. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπέστην ὀμφή με ὡς ἀληθῶς θεία προσέβαλεν αὐτόθεν καὶ τά τε ἄλλα ἡ πόλις διαίτημα κρειττόνων ἔδοξε καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τῇ φύσει τῆς περιοχῆς· οἷον γὰρ φρούριον ἀτεχνῶς καὶ αὐτοσχέδιος ἀκρόπολις ὁ Παρνασὸς ἀπαιωρεῖται προπόδων λαγόσι τὴν πόλιν ἐγκολπισάμενος.

This is a conventional description giving few details, yet accurately portraying the sanctuary as both dominated and protected by its mountain. The passage also makes the point that after such a climb, a visitor might mistake the Phaedriades for the very peaks of Parnassus.

If Heliodorus's oracular voice is only figurative, Justin's *Epitome* of Pompeius Trogus' *Historiae* invites the reader to imagine the effects of sound (*Epit.* 24.6):

> The central part of the rock falls back in the shape of a theater; and, in consequence, if ever shouts are raised, or if the noise of trumpets is mingled with them, the sound, from the rocks echoing and re-echoing to one another, is heard many times repeated, and louder than it was made at first. This effect produces a greater awe of the power of the god

41 Weir 2004, 78 notes that this approach offers 'one splendid glimpse at a time', in a process of gradual revelation. Although the views in the valley are certainly splendid, travelers from the port would not have been able to see the sanctuary until after passing the stream of Castalia near its juncture with the Pleistus. Thus the sanctuary would be eclipsed for some time before its first distant view.

> on those who are ignorant of its cause, and more admiration in those struck with wonder at it.
>
> tr. WATSON, adapted

> Media saxi rupes in formam theatri recessit. Quamobrem et hominum clamor et si quando accedit tubarum sonus, personantibus et respondentibus inter se rupibus multiplex audiri ampliorque quam editur resonare solet. Quae res maiorem maiestatis terrorem ignaris rei et admirationem stupentibus plerumque adfert.

Anyone who has heard thunder crash over Delphi, then peal across the Pleistus valley can vouch that the effects are truly awesome. Such soundscapes are important to consider in evaluating setting and ancient experience. During the Pythian Games, every four years, Delphi must have been packed with participants and spectators. Waves of music would have flowed out of the theater, punctuated by cheers erupting in the stadium above. These would have been echoed and amplified by the Phaedriades. Once a month, nine months of the year, the Pythia uttered the oracles of Apollo. At other times, tourists and guides continued to come and go.

There was a visual correlate to the soundscape. The Athenian Treasury, for example, was covered in inscriptions, among which were two hymns carved on the southern side. Each included an invocation to the Muses, a vision of Apollo and recital of his deeds, a sacrifice, and a closing prayer.[42] They were performed by professional musicians in 128/7 BCE and inscribed for posterity. In superscript over the lyrics, vocal cues are given on one inscription and instrumental notations on the other. Both hymns begin by conjuring up space and place as, for example, in these lines from the paean of Athenaeus:

> Attend, ye (Muses) that were allotted deep-forested Helicon,
> loud-booming Zeus' fair-armed daughters: come
> to celebrate your brother in songs, Phoebus of the golden hair,
> that over the twin peaks of this crag of Parnassus, accompanied by
> the famous maidens of Delphi, comes to the waters
> of the fair-flowing Castalian spring
> as he attends to the mountain oracle.
>
> tr. WEST, adapted[43]

42 See Furley and Bremer 2001, 84–100, nos. 2.6.1 (Paean of Athenaeus) and 2.6.2 (Paean of Limenius); Pöhlmann and West 2001, 62–85, nos. 20 and 21.

43 West 1992, 289; Greek text from Furley and Bremer 2001, 85, no. 2.6.1.

Κέκλυθ’ Ἑλι]κ̣ῶνα βαθύδενδρον αἳ λάχετε Διὸ]ς
ἐ[ρι]βρόμου θύγατρες εὐώλ[ενοι,] μόλετε, συνόμ-
αιμον ἵνα Φοῖβον ᾠδα[ῖ]σι μέλψητε χρυσεοκόμαν,
ὃς ἀνὰ δικόρυνβα Παρνασσίδος τᾶσδε πετέρας ἕδραν’ ἅμ’
[ἀ]γακλυταῖς Δελφίσιν Κασταλίδος εὐύδρου
νάματ’ ἐπινίσεται, Δελφὸν ἀνὰ [πρ]ῶνα μαν-
τεῖον ἐφέπων πάγον.

The hymn reminded visitors to take note of surroundings—truly to be in the moment—imagining the descent of Apollo and his entourage to Castalia, in which they had perhaps just splashed themselves.[44] Such inscriptions must have been great grist for the guides who led visitors through the site, regaling visitors with lengthy explanations (Plut. *De Pyth. or.* 395A). In so doing they gave fresh expression to the countless sacred vows, oracles, and hymns inscribed all over the sanctuary. Each reading, each explanation, drew attention to the landscape and infused it with divinity.

The centerpiece of Delphi is the temple, a building that dominates the site from whatever direction one looks (Fig. 9.2:422). As a result, the temple terrace was the highest-value area for the display of dedications by *poleis* and rulers. These advertised the donors’ wealth and status, confirming also the oracle’s authority.[45] A long history of monumental one-upmanship climaxed in a cluster of column or pillar monuments.

Statues on towering supports had begun to appear as early as the sixth century BCE with the installation of the Naxian Sphinx (Fig. 9.2:328). Such monuments epitomize what Michael Scott has called ‘spatial confrontations’ and ‘spatial politics’.[46] Some relationships, however, were more complementary than confrontational. Ioannis Mylonopoulos emphasizes connections, for example, between the Attalid terrace and monuments (Fig. 9.2:404–405, 502–503) with earlier dedications celebrating the battles of Greeks and canonical ‘others’. Such older monuments include the Athenian Stoa (Fig. 9.2:313) and Aetolian Stoa, and the temple of Apollo itself, where captured shields were displayed.[47] Within a sanctuary so densely developed by the Hellenistic period, tall pillar monuments proliferated, first lifting Helios skyward, then Hellenis-

44 Pöhlmann and West 2001, 87 discuss earlier references to a chorus of women or girls welcoming Apollo to Delphi, suggesting that there was a ‘college’ of female performers or attendants.

45 Rosenberger 2008, 92–93.

46 Scott 2010, esp. 103.

47 Mylonopoulos 2006, 90–91.

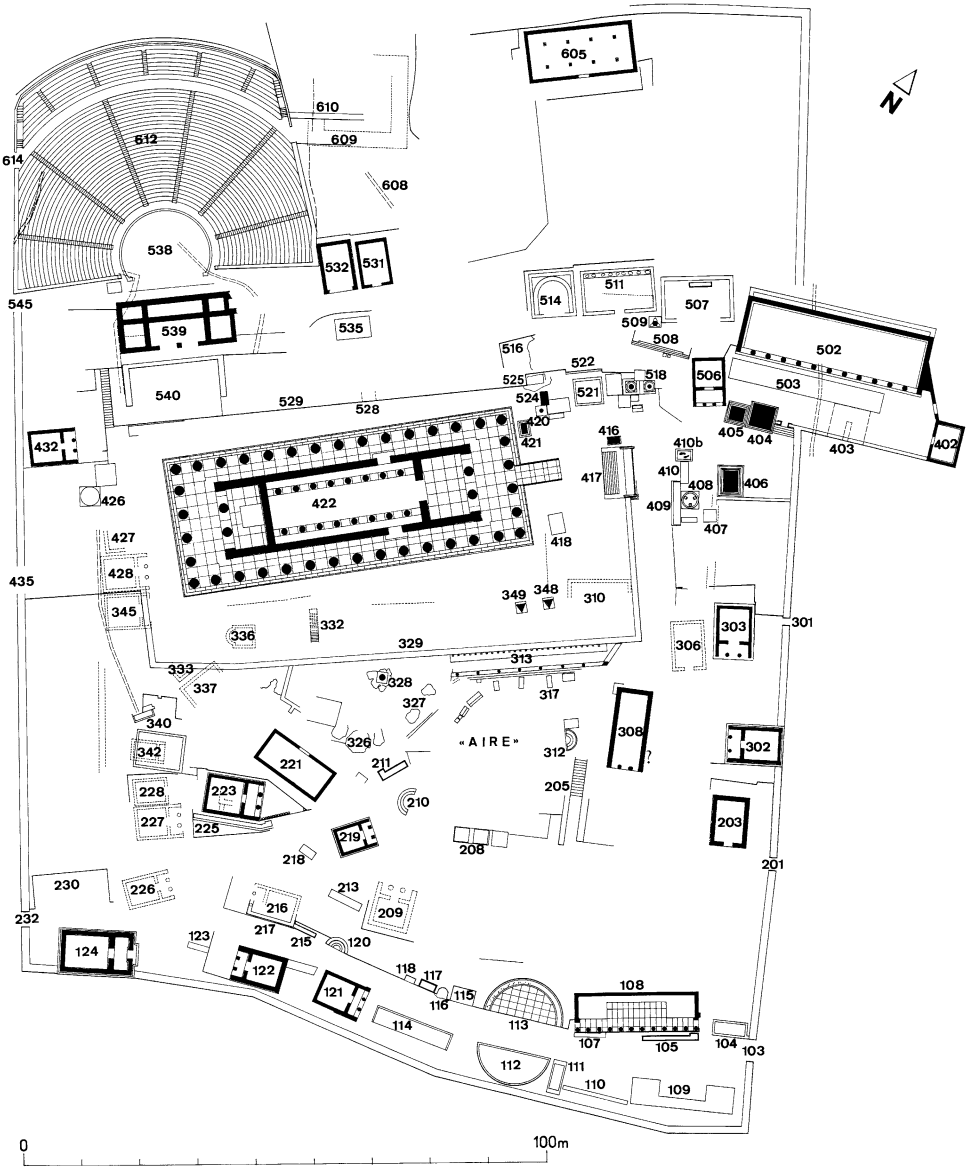


FIGURE 9.2 *Plan of the Sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi, the end of the second century* CE
CREDIT: ECOLE FRANÇAISE D'ATHÈNES, D. LAROCHE AND J.-F. BOMMELAER

tic dynasts, a Republican general (Aemilius Paullus—Fig. 9.2:418), and even one emperor (probably Domitian—Fig. 9.2:421). Anne Jacquemin and Didier Laroche have noted a particularly Attalid flair for pillar monuments in Greece, and suggest that their practice of putting rulers 'on high' was conceived at Delphi.[48] Figures rose to the level of the temple pediment and the images of Apollo and the Muses therein. Patrons and designers also responded to and, I think, competed with the landscape itself. Hellenistic and Roman pillar monuments were clearly meant to stand out against the craggy cliffs. Seen from below, the figures upon them—usually equestrian statues and chariot-groups—would appear to fly high, moving across earth or sky as a viewer passed by.

Throughout the sanctuary rock and stone—native bedrock and worked blocks—confronted each other in subtle ways. The temple was of Corinthian poros limestone with marble pediments, and other monuments were of harder limestones and glittering marbles harking back to distant places and polities. Rocky outcrops punctuated and poked through the cultural overlay. Projections of bedrock are integrated into built structures, for example, in a series of niches on the lowest leg of the Sacred Way in which craggy rock foundations were finished with ashlar uppers (Fig. 9.2:116–118), or the remains of a rock-cut basin projecting from the retaining wall at the east end of the temple terrace, all that remains of one instantiation of the Fountain of Cassotis (Fig. 9.2:525). In these places where the irregular masses of bedrock intrude and interact with orderly masonry, it is as if the essential wilderness of Parnassus cannot be kept down. Plutarch (*De Pyth. or.* 398C) and Pausanias (10.12.1) mention the 'Rock of the Sibyl' (Fig. 9.2:326), only the largest in a field of fallen rocks that have laid there seemingly forever (Fig. 9.2:327). Pausanias reports that another stone, not far from the east end of the temple, was said to be the stone (λίθος) of Kronos, given to him instead of one of his children (Zeus), vomited up, and then, implicitly, transplanted from the island of Crete.[49] It was anointed daily and covered in unworked wool on feast days (10.24.6). Such features, whether they were used in ritual or not, offered conspicuous opportunities for telling stories, connecting present and past, further activating the landscape, and adding meaning.

Geologically speaking, the Corinthian Gulf is a rift valley, and one of the most active tectonic spreading centers in the world.[50] Throughout human history this has meant a record of unusual phenomena. During a nineteenth-century

48 Jacquemin and Laroche 1992, 255.

49 I thank an anonymous reviewer for refining my understanding of this artifact.

50 Etiope et al. 2006; Piccardi et al. 2008.

quake, rocks rained down from the cliffs over the sanctuary, reminiscent of a terrible event of the third century BCE described by Pausanias (10.23.1). Moreover, at least one crack (1 m wide) opened in a neighboring town and later 'self-sealed', underscoring the possibility that a chasm was visible at Delphi at some point in human history.[51] Every fallen rock was a reminder that a tremor could throw more down from the surrounding cliffs at any moment. Thus, seismic activity and a visibly evolving landscape are Delphic constants, contributing to the sense of an exceptional place.

Water is another natural force at Delphi. The parties involved in the sanctuary's upkeep at any time have had to manage a substantial volume issuing near its upper margin, from the area of a spring now called Kerna; however, ancient names are known for just two springs, both at lower levels.[52] Pausanias notes Castalia (10.8.9) on the way to the sanctuary and, later, Cassotis (10.24.7). Castalia had been a periphrasis for Delphi since the time of Pindar, when the spring was channeled to spouts alongside a paved court, and was probably long used for ablutions as well as for drinking.[53] It may well have had a long tradition as the bath of Apollo himself, although that function first appears in a third-century BCE inscription.[54] Castalia was celebrated by Hellenistic and Roman poets as a spring of poetic inspiration, a charismatic source itself (e.g., Verg. *G.* 3.293; Ov. *Am.* 1.15.36. Stat. *Silv.* 5.5.2). Delphic Castalia came to sound a lot like Heliconian Hippocrene, with which it was sometimes conflated.[55] By the time of Pausanias, if not yet Plutarch, Castalia was an impressive and very 'modern' monument carved into living rock then revetted in the best Imperial-era *Marmorstil*.[56]

Located near the temple (Fig. 9.2:525), the Cassotis fountain was likely fed from a source higher uphill to the north.[57] The fountain named by Pausanias

51 Piccardi et al. 2008, 10.

52 That water was plentiful in the area of Cerna and the theater is indicated by the many hydraulic installations in the area; see for example Bommelaer 1991, 205–206, no. 609. For water management and monuments, see also Pouilloux 1963; Amandry 1977, 1996; Walker 1979; Roux 1981; Glaser 1983; Amélie Perrier has initiated a new large-scale study.

53 Parke 1978, 200–203, 214: Pindaric periphrasis: *Ol.* 7.10; 9.10; *Pyth.* 4.160; 5.25. For ablutions, see Eur. *Ion* 94–97; Schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 222.

54 Jacquemin et al. 2012, 124–125, no. 60; Parke 1978, 204.

55 See Parke 1978; for similar developments with Corinthian Peirene, see Robinson 2011, 44–55.

56 For Castalia, see Amandry 1977, 197; Walker 1979, 53–55; Glaser 1983, 101–105. The dramatic transformation of such a sacred source is seen in the marble revetment of Corinthian Peirene near the turn of the second century CE, for which see Robinson 2011, 207–215.

57 See n. 52 above.

would have been the structure already mentioned, which includes a basin, partially carved into a projection of rock, part masonry-built, just behind the pillar of Prusias (Fig. 9.2:524).[58] The rough-hewn rock and hidden plumbing of the fountain contributed to the impression that a spring rose at the spot, to be captured in an ancient basin. According to Pausanias's sources, the water of Cassotis sank underground to inspire the Pythia in the nearby temple. Such stories helped to maintain Delphi's charismatic reputation.

Hydraulic features south of the temple include a stepped fountain (Fig. 9.2:332) and a small outlet in the face of the Polygonal Wall, both fed by channels leading out from under the temple and dating to its late-sixth-century BCE reconstruction. Though it seems unlikely that the system still functioned in the Imperial period, the visibility of the fountain and outlet would have reinforced the notion that the Cassotis spring percolated through the ground there at the heart of the sanctuary.[59] At the climax of *De Pythiae oraculis*, Plutarch's discussants seat themselves on the southern steps of the temple to discuss the oracle and its evolution from verse to unadorned prose (402C–409D). Despite their expansive view of the Pleistus valley, they turn their attention to the immediate surroundings, looking down towards the shrine of *Gê*, or Earth, and pondering change. As the character Boëthius reports, there was once a sanctuary of the Muses there, at which water was used for lustrations and libations (*De Pyth. or.* 402D); no connection is made to Apollo or his oracle. The testimonies of Pausanias and Plutarch together with the archaeological evidence reveal an awareness of the mutability of landscape and ritual. Without offering as many details as we might like, both authors indicate the importance of water at Delphi, but where Pausanias hints at its importance for the oracle, Plutarch favors a different element there.[60]

According to Plutarch, Delphi's exceptionalism also affected the air, making it dense and compact, tense and keen (*De Pyth. or.* 396A). He presents these qualities in a discussion of the deep and brilliant blue (cyan) patina of at least some bronze statues on the site. The figures belonged to the Spartan monument commemorating victory at Aegospotami in 405 BCE, which stood

58 See Pouilloux 1963, esp. 84, 90–92.

59 See Hansen 2009, 124–138. He holds (124–125) that Plutarch and his peers would have been aware of the water channel running to the Polygonal Wall, and the stepped fountain would have remained visible. Exploration of the complex hydraulic system under the temple shows no sign of a connection to the presumed adyton or to streams from Cassotis, but it is clear that there has always been a source of water under the temple.

60 Unmentioned by them, a shrine of Asclepius, just downhill was also well watered; Amandry 1996, 92–93.

just inside the southeast entrance of the sanctuary (Fig. 9.2:109).[61] The dedication would have been among the first encountered upon entering, and it is the first to spark commentary in *De Pythiae oraculis*, in which it is noted that the color admirably suits the nautical subject matter (395B). If the bronze was literally blue, which seems likely, was that feature limited to the *Admirals*? Some scholars believe so, while others assume it was common to all Delphic bronzes; Plutarch's text is vague, and archaeology has shed no light.[62] Assuming that only the *Admirals* were the color of the sea, Walter Franke and Magda Mircea have recently argued that their patina could have been produced by high carbon dioxide concentrations and limestone dust collecting under certain conditions in the lower part of the sanctuary.[63] It is an intriguing but probably unprovable theory. In any case, what is most interesting is that something about some or all Delphic statues was noticeably unusual, prompting speculation from antiquity to the present. For Plutarch, the *Admirals* offer an opportunity for philosophical debate pitting Epicurean and Stoic explanations against one another prior to his consideration of the phenomena behind the oracle. Even air (ἀήρ) could be thought to produce dramatic results in such a charismatic landscape, a subject that begs comparison to his understanding of an oracular *pneuma* (πνεῦμα).

By the period of Roman rule, a *pneuma* (πνεῦμα) was regularly mentioned, described by Strabo (9.3.5) as an enthusiastic spirit (πνεῦμα ἐνθουσιαστικόν) and translated by Cicero as *afflatus terrae* (*Div*. 2.11), a 'breath from the earth', and by Pliny the Elder as an *exhalatio* causing people to become intoxicated (*temulenti*) (*HN* 2.208).[64] All seem to have accepted it as fact.[65] An altered state of consciousness was assumed for the Pythia, but there is nothing to suggest the frenzy that was advertised by later Christian writers, and which remains a popular notion.[66] Rumors of a miraculous wind or exhalation would continue throughout antiquity, but of the ancient sources on the subject, only Plutarch had detailed personal knowledge of Delphi and its rituals. Surely aware of popular traditions, he exploits the semantic flexibility of the term to advantage. Where *pneuma* appears in *De Pythiae oraculis* (402B), however, Plutarch seems

61 For identification, history of work, and new restoration efforts, see Bommelaer 2011.

62 Pouilloux 1965; Jouanna 1975; see also Franke and Mircea 2005, 106.

63 Franke and Mircea 2005.

64 Will 1942, 164 points out that Pausanias's silence on the matter is quite remarkable. See Fontenrose 1978, 197–199 for Pseudo-Longinus, ἄτμος ἔνθεος (13.2), Dio Chrysostom ἐμπιμπλαμένη τοῦ πνεύματος (72.12), Iamblichus, *Myst*. 3.11, and later examples.

65 See Vernière 1990, 362.

66 Maurizio 1995; Vernière 1990.

to mean a spirit, and there is little to contradict such a reading in his earlier work, *De defectu oraculorum* (437C–438D). As Ernest Will has argued, Plutarch says nothing to affirm the existence of real, material emissions at Delphi, but actually seems to show the opposite.[67]

In *De defectu oraculorum*, Plutarch's brother Lamprias speaks of the earth's charismatic forces, some doing ill, others good, then he speaks of a divine and holy mantic current and breath, μαντικὸν ῥεῦμα καὶ πνεῦμα (*De def. or.* 432D). The *pneuma* can be transmitted through air or water, and he notes that natural events might diminish it (433F). He further argues that exhalations may vary even in one place, noting the coming and going of a beautiful fragrance in the temple (437C–D). This was long explained as a subjective response to the perceived presence of divinity or the scent of incense. These changeable qualities, and the possibility of renewal, were important points in a world of dormant oracles.[68] Scholars have recognized the parallels between the effects of air or climate on metal and of the conveniently ambiguous *pneuma* on the oracle, and Jean Pouilloux has argued that even the former, to Plutarch, reveals divine presence.[69] He offers a set of equations:

bronze + *pneuma* → wonderful patina     Pythia + *pneuma* → miraculous oracle

Modern scholars have proffered a variety of explanations for the Pythia's powers. Some dismiss the oracle as a political tool or scam.[70] Others have found the idea of a *pneuma* irresistible, seeking scientific explanations. Jelle De Boer, John Hale, and colleagues suggest a link between the Pythia's altered state and the seepage of organic gases, especially sweet-smelling ethylene, from a fault underlying the temple.[71] Giuseppe Etiope and his team have measured other gas emissions around the sanctuary and argued that they, rather than ethylene, might offer a 'plausible geological explanation' for the Pythia's performance.[72] A third group, led by Luigi Piccardi, suggests that seismic events may have periodically opened pockets of natural gases, as in instances known from more

67 Will 1942.

68 Fontenrose 1978, 198–199, referring also to the opinions of Will and Amandry.

69 Pouilloux 1965, esp. 64; Zagdoun 1995, 589–590.

70 See Green 2009.

71 De Boer et al. 2001; Spiller et al. 2002.

72 Etiope et al. 2006 rule out the production of ethylene but suggest that carbon dioxide, methane, and possibly carbon monoxide in the closed space of the temple might have affected the Pythia. They also allow for the possibility that the sweet smell reported by Plutarch was benzene, given the bedrock geology.

recent history.[73] Jay Foster and Darren Lehoux have done much to dismantle such positivist arguments, reminding us of the tremendous complexity of oracular phenomena at Delphi.[74] A perceptibly active landscape was, and is, a potent factor in the experience and continued importance of the site.

## 4 Conclusions

Let us return to the view from Corinth. A subset of Pauline scholars has turned to classical texts and Stoic philosophy to understand the Apostle and his *pneumatika*, and likewise first-century Christian writings offer a similarly useful context for classical studies. The prophetic currents and spirits (μαντικὸν ῥεῦμα καὶ πνεῦμα) at Delphi, widely understood and circulated at the time of Saint Paul, find parallels in Paul's Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον and in the nature of its graceful gifts or *kharismata*.[75] Many Corinthians and Paul, like Plutarch later, must have been aware of traditions connecting the Delphic oracle to a physical *pneuma*, a breeze or vapor rising from a chasm, but anticipating Plutarch, Paul uses the term *pneuma* in a more philosophical and spiritual sense.[76]

Trances and altered states in religious and creative contexts are well documented throughout human experience, and the stimuli are infinitely variable. The locations and settings of sacred places are as well. In this chapter, I have therefore focused on the natural features and phenomena contributing to the persistent reception of some places as particularly charismatic. Monuments, rituals, and writing might serve to maintain and even reinvigorate the charisma of place. The Mouseion on Helicon celebrated the divine gifts of one exceptional human, the poet Hesiod. In the Hellenistic and Roman periods, the sanctuary came to be populated with a few buildings and a great sculpture collection. There were sacrifices, games, but no oracle, and the charisma of the site was maintained largely in literary contexts, from Hellenistic and Roman poetry to Plutarch's invocation of Plato's canonical *locus amoenus*. Once a place of unbounded and dangerous charisma, on the other hand, Delphi was cultivated, its spirits reined in with temenos, temple, and rituals. The oracle worked on a tight schedule and by strict rules, harnessed for the greater good. The tremendously charismatic landscape, however, remained a force, and in the late first century CE, it gave Plutarch and his contemporaries a strong foundation for a

73 Piccardi et al. 2008.
74 Foster and Lehoux 2007; Lehoux 2007.
75 See Gunkel et al. 2014.
76 Gunkel et al. 2014, 77–79.

makeover of the sanctuary. Identified as exceptional sites, the Mouseion and Delphi were important destinations of pilgrimage and tourism, their histories reflecting a process in which landscape, human benefaction, and perceived gifts from the gods contributed together to charismatic authority.

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# PART 4

## *Battlefields and Memory of War*

CHAPTER 10

# Heritage in the Landscape: The 'Heroic Tumuli' in the Troad Region*

*Elizabeth Minchin*

## 1 Introduction

About 2.5 km off the easternmost point of the Australian coastline, out from Cape Byron, a tiny twin-peaked rock formation rises from the sea. Captain James Cook, who mapped the east coast of Australia in 1770, is said to have named this formation the Julian Rocks, after his niece and nephew.[1] The local Bundjalung people tell a story about the origins of this islet. A woman was out in a canoe one day with her lover. Her jealous husband on the shore threw a spear at the canoe, which broke in two and partly sank, leaving visible its stern and prow.[2] Cognitive psychology tells us that location, imagery, and memorability are linked; and that spatial information, along with visual information, prompts the recall of associated material.[3] So, a distinctive formation like this

* I was able to visit the so-called heroic tumuli of the Troad with the support of an Australian Research Council Discovery Project Grant awarded for 2010 (DP110104308). My special thanks go to Professor Fatih Yavuz and Associate Professor Reyhan Körpe (Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart Üniversitesi) for their indispensable assistance in acting as our guides on that occasion. I also thank the editors of this volume and the anonymous referee for helpful comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

1 Captain Cook's journal places him off Cape Byron (as he names it) on Tuesday 15 May 1770: Wharton 1893, 252–253. But I find no evidence in Cook's (or Sir Joseph Banks') journals that these rocks were indeed named for Cook's family members. The story, however, is in the popular domain. For further discussion, see nn. 2 and 57 below.

2 These two stories about the Julian Rocks are recorded on signage on Cape Byron. I thank the Byron Bay Visitor Information and Tourist Centre (www.visitbyronbay.com) for its assistance with my queries. For confirmation of the Bundjalung story by local Elders, see NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service 2011, 5–6. How old is this story? We should bear in mind Peter Hiscock's caution (Hiscock 2013, 134) that there were 'repeated reworkings of mythological narrative …' amongst Aboriginal peoples, especially at the beginning of the historical period, in response to the arrival of people from outside. Although we cannot date the first occurrence of the story it is regarded today as traditional.

3 On spatial memory: Neisser 1989, 79–80; Winograd and Church 1988, 5–7; on imagery as an

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has the capacity, first, to attract a story whose very causal chain is linked to its natural form, and, subsequently, to prompt that story in memory. The landscape thus becomes 'humanized', through the Bundjalung story and through the Captain Cook tale, which together represent, as it were, 'sedimented layers of meaning' within its history.[4] Enduring topographical features like the Julian Rocks, therefore, in prompting memory for stories, offer visitors real connections with a society's more distant past.[5]

This chapter deals with features of the landscape, in this case the landscape of the Troad, and the way in which the features in question, its tumuli, have attracted narrative that humanizes them and enriches them, creating a landscape of value. In describing this region of tumuli in this way I shall ask what it is precisely that adds value. My special focus will be on the dynamics of human interaction with the landscape in question and the strange processes of distortion in human memory.

## 2 The Hero's Tomb in the *Iliad*

One of the conventions of Homeric society, the *Iliad* tells us, is that a hero killed in battle will be memorialized in song and in the landscape. When Homer's Hector, issuing a challenge to the Achaeans, boasts that he will kill his opponent, he looks ahead to the moment when the Achaeans raise a funeral mound for their comrade beside the Hellespont (*Il.* 7.84–86):

> But his corpse I will give back amongst the strong-benched vessels
> So that the flowing-haired Achaians may give him due burial
> And heap up a mound upon him beside the broad passage of Helle.
> tr. LATTIMORE

> τὸν δὲ νέκυν ἐπὶ νῆας ἐϋσσέλμους ἀποδώσω,
> ὄφρά ἑ ταρχύσωσι κάρη κομόωντες Ἀχαιοί,
> σῆμά τέ οἱ χεύωσιν ἐπὶ πλατεῖ Ἑλλησπόντῳ.

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aid to memory: Rubin 1995, 39–64 (ch. 3: 'Imagery'). For discussion of mnemotechnic practice in the ancient world, using precisely such a system of *loci* and *imagines*, see Yates 1966, 1–3. And for examples of ruins as prompts for memories, as opposed to landscapes (the subject of the 2012 Penn-Leiden Colloquium), see Miles 2014, on the ruins of temples 'viewed and used' (139) as memorials.

4 For these useful metaphors, see Tilley 1994, 24; 27.

5 It is inaccurate to claim that a site such as this is a 'repository' for stories, as many scholars suggest: see, e.g., Hall 2007, 331. Such sites can only *prompt* stories.

Everyone who passes by will see the mound and remember both the hero and the man who killed him, in this case Hector, whose glory will, therefore, never fade (*Il.* 7.87–90):

> And some day one of the men to come will say, as he sees it,
> One who in his benched ship sails on the wine-blue water:
> 'This is the mound of a man who died long ago in battle,
> Who was one of the bravest, and glorious Hektor killed him.'
>
> tr. LATTIMORE

> καί ποτέ τις εἴπῃσι καὶ ὀψιγόνων ἀνθρώπων
> νηῒ πολυκλήϊδι πλέων ἐπὶ οἴνοπα πόντον·
> ἀνδρὸς μὲν τόδε σῆμα πάλαι κατατεθνηῶτος,
> ὅν ποτ' ἀριστεύοντα κατέκτανε φαίδιμος Ἕκτωρ.

The form, the visibility, and the durability of the grave mound will cue stories of that hero in the minds of generations to come.[6]

There are several dozen mounds, 'gently sloping eminences of no height', in the landscape of the Troad and across the Hellespont.[7] The majority have now been identified as settlement mounds, which range in date between the later Neolithic period and down into the Bronze Age.[8] But by the archaic period in the Greek world, when the story of the Trojan War, whether through Homeric song or through other epic tales, had reached a wider audience, these associations had been forgotten.[9] The chronology of the 'Locrian maidens' tells

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6 Thus we hear also of the tomb of Ilus (e.g., at *Il.* 11.371–372) and the tomb of Aesyetes (2.793) as both vantage points and landmarks on the plain of Troy. See also the Scamander's threat to bury Achilles beneath its own version of a mound: 21.318–323. On real-world tumuli as vantage points, see Rose 2014, 73–74. It is not only tombs that cue memories in Homer's epics: the well-known landmarks of Troy, as they are listed in *Il.* 22.145–213, especially at 145–156, evoke powerful images of happier times in the life of Troy. I thank Ineke Sluiter for this observation.

7 For the phrase, see della Valle 1811, 8. Della Valle had recorded his observations of the region in a letter to Mr. Schipano, dated 23 August 1614. On the number of tombs, see Aslan and Bieg 2003, 167, who suggest that there are about 40.

8 See now Rose 2014, 61. But note also Rose's comments (2014, 73) on the tumuli found further east, in the Granicus River Valley: they served as 'territorial markers of the estates on which they were built, and their number and size also served as an index of the wealth of the Hellespontine Phrygian elite'. They also were used as observation platforms: for example, in times of war.

9 It may have been Homer's *Iliad* or, indeed, some other song or songs that inspired this tendency. For the persuasive claim that people of the period responded not only to Homer's

us that by the seventh century BCE, historical Ilion had been identified with the Troy of legend, and the Troad was seen as the wider setting for this story of heroic performance.[10] It is not surprising that these ancient mounds, whatever their origin may have been, were then reinterpreted in the light of the Troy story and the cultural practices that it records. Ten tumuli were identified in the ancient sources as tombs of heroes (and heroines) connected in some way with the Trojan War.[11] Of those ten, four have always caught the imagination: on the Troad, the mounds associated with Achilles, Patroclus, and Ajax, and, opposite, on the Thracian Chersonese, the tomb of Protesilaus.

But where exactly were these four mounds? In the absence in the ancient world and into Late Antiquity of easily portable maps and charts, the identification of these so-called tombs amongst many others was neither easy nor consistent. Back in Australia, we can locate the Julian Rocks, thanks to accurate maps and, indeed, information panels on Cape Byron; but could visitors in the ancient world locate with certainty Achilles' or Ajax's tomb? I shall quickly try to describe the locations of these tumuli, in order to make my point.

## 3 The Tumuli of Ajax, Protesilaus, Patroclus, and Achilles

The traditional site for the tomb of Ajax, son of Telamon, is near the harbor of Rhoeteum. The original site is now forgotten, since, as the vinedresser in

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version of the story but to other versions as well, cf. Flavius Philostratus, *Heroicus*, in which Philostratus (writing in the third century CE) retells stories from the wider Epic Cycle; he does not limit himself to the Homeric epics as his sources. For commentary see Dué and Nagy 2002, lxvi–lxviii. For a useful characterization of the eighth-century BCE Greek world, marked by a 'sense of regional and possibly wider identity' and 'the growth of local "hero" (or ancestor) cult, focussed on the tombs of the evidently distant past', see Sherratt 1990, 816–817.

10 The ritual whereby two maidens from Locri Epizephyri were appointed to serve at the Sanctuary of Athena at Ilion had begun at the latest by the last quarter of the seventh century BCE and continued for nearly 600 years, with a break only in the late Classical-early Hellenistic period: on the custom see Aeneas Tacticus 31.24; Polybius 12.5.6–7; Strabo 13.1.40; for its dating see Rose 2014, 60–61 and 298–299 nn. 82, 86. This custom (and its connections with the construction of the Temple of Athena at Troy) allows us to establish a *terminus ante quem* for the identification of Ilion as the Troy of the heroic tale and certain tumuli as the tombs of the great heroes. See further on the Locrian Maidens below; and see n. 27 below on the evidence of the Polyxena sarcophagus that by the sixth century BCE one of the tumuli was considered the tomb of Achilles.

11 On these ten tumuli and their 'identifications': Rose 2014, 62 and Plate 2.

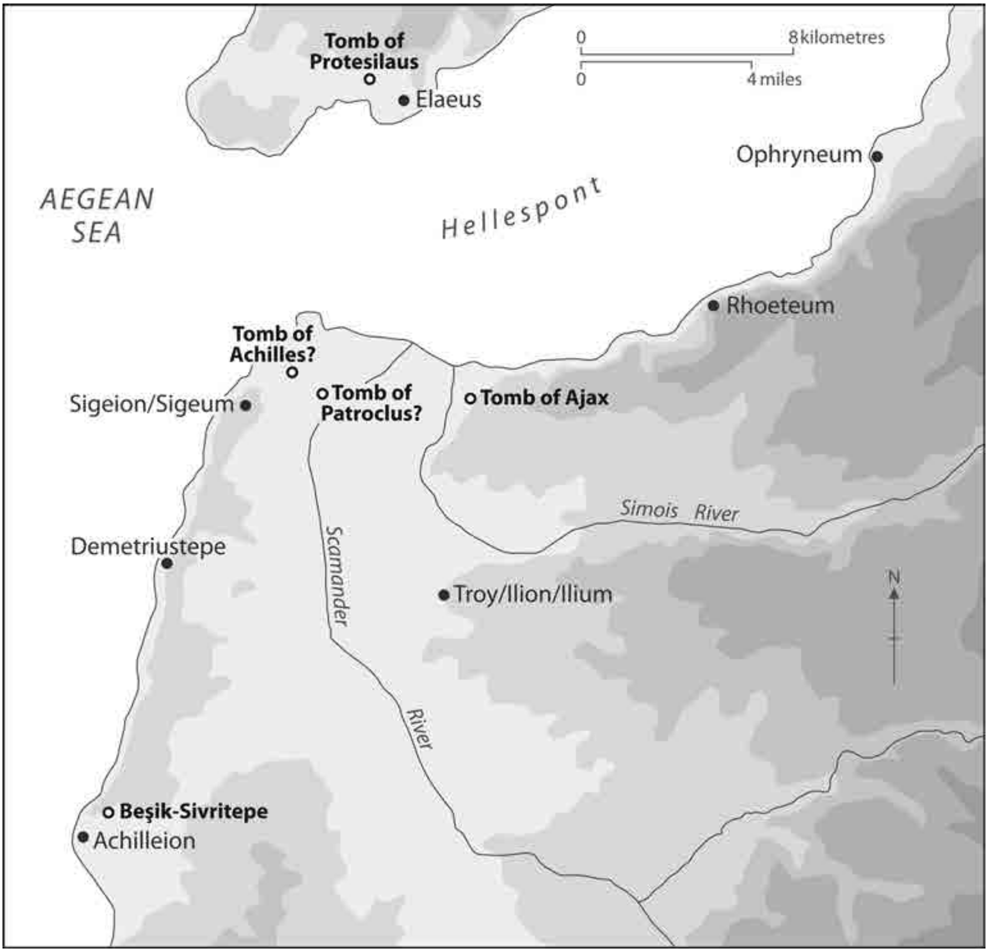


FIGURE 10.1 *Map of 'heroic tumuli' discussed in this chapter*
PREPARED BY KEITH MITCHELL, BASED ON PIZZORNO IN ROSE 2014

Philostratus' *Heroicus* tells us, that first mound had slipped into the sea; and the tomb was reconstructed above sea level by Hadrian in early second century CE (Philostr. *Her.* 8.1):[12]

> Vinedresser: Listen now, my friend. I had a grandfather who knew many of the things you do not believe. He used to say that the tomb of Ajax was

12 Hadrian visits in 124 CE: Philostr. *Her.* 8.1 is our only ancient source for this visit. On scholars' inability to identify the first site, see Rose 2014, 299 n. 92.

> destroyed by the sea near which it lies, and that bones appeared in it of a person eleven cubits tall. He also said that upon his arrival at Troy the emperor Hadrian embraced and kissed some of the bones, wrapped them up, and restored the present tomb of Ajax.
>
> tr. MACLEAN and AITKEN
>
> Ἀ: ἄκουε δή· πάππος ἦν μοι, ξένε, πολλὰ τῶν ἀπιστουμένων ὑπὸ σοῦ γινώσκων, ὃς ἔλεγε διαφθαρῆναι μέν ποτε τὸ τοῦ Αἴαντος σῆμα ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης, πρὸς ᾗ κεῖται, ὀστᾶ δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ φανῆναι κατὰ ἑνδεκάπηχυν ἄνθρωπον· καὶ ἔφασκεν Ἀδριανὸν βασιλέα περιστεῖλαι αὐτὰ ἐς Τροίαν ἐλθόντα καὶ τὸν νυνὶ τάφον περιαρμόσαι τῷ Αἴαντι ἔστιν ἃ καὶ προσπτυξάμενον τῶν ὀστῶν καὶ φιλήσαντα.

The site was the first stopping place of the Locrian Maidens, who each year took a route to the Sanctuary of Athena via *this* tomb of *this* Ajax.[13] The identification of the earlier mound with Ajax had been supported in the ancient world by the 'discovery' of huge bones at the site: Philostratus' vinedresser tells us that his grandfather had seen them;[14] Pausanias too had reported, somewhat earlier, that a Mysian informant had told him of huge bones within the tomb, knee-bones the size of a discus (Paus. 1.35.5):

> As to the hero's size, a Mysian was my informant. He said that the sea flooded the side of the grave facing the beach and made it easy to enter the tomb, and he bade me form an estimate of the size of the corpse in the following way. The bones on his knees, called by doctors the knee-pan, were in the case of Ajax as big as the quoit of a boy in the pentathlon.
>
> tr. JONES
>
> μέγεθος αὐτοῦ Μυσὸς ἔλεγεν ἀνήρ. τοῦ γὰρ τάφου τὰ πρὸς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἔφασκεν ἐπικλύσαι τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τὴν ἔσοδον ἐς τὸ μνῆμα οὐ χαλεπὴν ποιῆσαι, καί με τοῦ νεκροῦ τὸ μέγεθος τεκμαίρεσθαι τῇδε ἐκέλευε· πεντάθλου γὰρ παιδὸς εἶναί οἱ κατὰ δίσκον μάλιστα τὰ ἐπὶ τοῖς γόνασιν ὀστᾶ, καλουμένας δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἰατρῶν μύλας.

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13 This is despite the fact that the Locrians were atoning for the wrong done by Ajax the Lesser, Locrian Ajax, to Cassandra and the Trojans.

14 Philostr. *Her*. 8.1. The reported bones function as guarantees of authenticity (an assurance that the find-spot was indeed a tomb and that it was the tomb of Ajax, son of Telamon, himself). But the bones appear to serve no other function in ritual; on this see also Antonaccio 1993, 62–63 and 69 n. 72, where she proposes that these bones may have been fossils, citing a fossilized hippopotamus bone from the Heraion on Samos.

Because of its associations, both as a cult site and as a prescribed location in annual ritual, Ajax's tomb may have been adorned with marble decoration.[15] In our minds, therefore, we might picture a tomb in a conspicuous location, on or near the shore, the only one in the vicinity, possibly distinguished by decoration, and associated with ritual on a regular basis.[16]

The tomb of Protesilaus, according to Homer the first Achaean to die,[17] may also have been identifiable. Tradition locates it at the end of the Thracian Chersonese at Karaağaçtepe, near Elaeus.[18] This site was in origin a prehistoric settlement mound;[19] but certainly by the early fifth century BCE it was recognized as a tomb and a cult site associated with Protesilaus, with its own *temenos*, as Herodotus' story of Artayctes might indicate (Hdt. 9.116):[20]

> [T]here is at Elaeus in the Chersonesus the tomb of Protesilaus, and a precinct about it, where was much treasure, with vessels of gold and silver, bronze, raiment, and other dedicated offerings …
>
> tr. GODLEY

> ἐν γὰρ Ἐλαιοῦντι τῆς Χερσονήσου ἐστὶ Πρωτεσίλεω τάφος τε καὶ τέμενος περὶ αὐτόν, ἔνθα ἦν χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ φιάλαι χρύσεαι καὶ ἀργύρεαι καὶ χαλκὸς καὶ ἐσθὴς καὶ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα, …

Alexander was one notable visitor who sought out Protesilaus' tomb and made sacrifice there (Arr. *Anab.* 1.11.5):

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15 Rose 2014, 62 acknowledges that the evidence is slight; and cf. n. 36 below (Richard Pococke's notes on his visit to the site in the period 1737–1741).

16 On the relative isolation of the tomb, see Rose 2014, 62.

17 On Protesilaus as an 'Achilles *manqué*', see Boedeker 1988, 34–36.

18 Rose 2014, 62.

19 Schliemann, on excavating the site and finding no traces at all of a burial, deemed the mound a cenotaph: Schliemann 1967 (1884), 254–262. He did, however, find pottery evidence that he argued (259–260) was identical with that of the first city of Troy.

20 The story of Artayctes' acquisition of the riches from the treasury at the cult site and his response to the subsequent prodigy (allegedly a sign from Protesilaus) indicates that cult worship was practised there and that the site accommodated an oracle (Hdt. 9.116–120). On Herodotus' knowledge of two versions of the tale, see Boedeker 1988, 32–34. Although the story about Artayctes is referred to by Philostratus in his *Heroicus* (at 9.5), one would be bold to claim that we have evidence of an enduring oral tradition: Philostratus, a sophist, was well read. He would have known his Herodotus. Nevertheless, Philostratus' account of pilgrimage to and the local practice at this cult site and others is a valuable source of information on heroic cult and on its persistence in this landscape: see Sage 2000, 215–217.

> Arriving at Elaeus, he sacrificed to Protesilaus at his tomb, since he was thought to be the first to disembark on Asian soil of the Greeks who fought with Agamemnon against Troy. The intention of the sacrifice was that his own landing on Asian soil might be luckier than that of Protesilaus.
>
> tr. BRUNT
>
> ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς Ἐλαιοῦντα θύει Πρωτεσιλάῳ ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ τοῦ Πρωτεσιλάου, ὅτι καὶ Πρωτεσίλαος πρῶτος ἐδόκει ἐκβῆναι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἅμα Ἀγαμέμνονι ἐς Ἴλιον στρατευσάντων. καὶ ὁ νοῦς τῆς θυσίας ἦν ἐπιτυχεστέραν οἷ γενέσθαι ἢ Πρωτεσιλάῳ τὴν ἀπόβασιν.

The tombs of Achilles and Patroclus, however, have been 'curiously mobile'.[21] Homer tells us that, after the hero's funeral, the bones of Achilles were mixed with those of Patroclus and were placed in a golden jar; a mound 'great and perfect' was created over it, on a jutting promontory by the Hellespont.[22] In the light of this vague description it is not surprising that, for those who seek his barrow, the tomb of Achilles has been assigned to more than one location in the region.[23] Two mounds, one larger one smaller, below the Yenişehir ridge near Kumkale have long been connected with Achilles and Patroclus: the Homeric tradition has here been respected, in that Achilles' tomb overlooks

21 Burgess 2005.

22 *Il.* 23.243–257 and *Od.* 24.80–84.

23 In addition to this location and that discussed below I should note the cult site mentioned by Euripides on the Thracian Chersonese (Eur. *Hec.* 35–41)—perhaps a conflation of the tomb of Achilles with that of Protesilaus at Elaeus. And there are a number of cult sites in the Pontus region, particularly the island of Leuce, the 'white island'; for discussion of the Achilles cult in that region, see Hedreen 1991. Jeremy McInerney at the conference asked whether there was any competition between these different regions, or claims by one site that it was the genuine burial site, by contrast with others. Observation of an apparent acrostic at *Il.* 24.1–5 (*leukê*), for example, reveals the eagerness of the Hellenistic world to locate convincing evidence for such sites (on this see Korenjak 2009). How the ancient world reconciled the existence of competing sites is hard to say; but I note the careful statement of the vinedresser in Philostr. *Her.* 53.10. Here the vinedresser describes the ritual visit of Thessalians to the tomb of Achilles on the Troad. Accompanying the ritual activities is, he tells us, a hymn to Thetis, which includes the words: 'Troy gained a share of him / to the extent that his mortal nature held sway / but to the extent that the child derives from your immortal lineage / the Pontus possesses him' (tr. Maclean and Aitken) (τοῦ / θνατὰ μὲν ὅσον φύσις ἤνεγκε, / Τροία λάχε· σᾶς δ' ὅσον ἀθανάτου / γενεᾶς πάις ἔσπασε, Πόντος ἔχει). It is this kind of rationalization that might dampen down competing claims and grant each location the right to worship the same hero but in a different guise.

the Hellespont, but it has also been misremembered, in that the bones of Achilles and his companion, according to Homer at least, should be together.[24] Excavations here have yielded pottery from the late archaic period.[25] Rose suggests that these tumuli had been the burials of wealthy residents of Sigeum, a Greek colony founded by Mytilene in the eighth or seventh century BCE.[26] This is another indication that by this period the locals themselves assumed that the tumuli across the region were heroic tombs—and, more to the point, that they were tombs of Greeks like themselves.[27]

Another possible location for the tomb is at Beşik-Sivritepe, south of Cape Sigeum, along the Aegean coast.[28] Recent archaeological work suggests that the settlement on nearby Cape Burun was the site of Achilleion, founded in the sixth century BCE;[29] the place name itself suggests that the mound in the vicinity was thought, at least by the founders of Achilleion, also to be associated with Achilles. This may have been the tumulus visited by Alexander, where he paid homage to his hero, with offerings and through re-enactment (Plut. *Alex.* 15.4):

24 On the location, 250 yards from the Hellespont, see Schliemann 1967 (1884), 242–243: 'it [the so-called tomb of Achilles] answers therefore very well to the indications of Homer'; see also his claim at 1967 (1884), 250. I discuss below the problem of suggestibility—a failing of memory whereby misleading information from other sources may be incorporated into an individual's recollections. In this case the presence of more than one mound has suggested that Achilles and Patroclus were buried separately. It is also possible that in versions of the Trojan War tradition other than Homer's their bones were placed in separate tombs.

25 See Rose 1999, 61–63 for a history of excavation.

26 Rose 2014, 299 n. 102.

27 The tombs prompted memories; the memories fashioned their sense of community; and they contributed to the colonists' 'longitudinal relationship' to the region: Alcock 2002, 1 and 30. Thus the residents of Greek colonies in this region saw the Achaeans who came to Troy not as invaders but as precursors (I respond at this point to a question asked at the conference by Bridget Murnaghan). For other evidence that confirms an early date for the belief in the wider Troad region that at least some of the tumuli were heroic, consider the image that appears on the recently discovered Polyxena sarcophagus, excavated in the Kizöldün tumulus at Gümüşçay, near the battlefield of Granicus, and dated to sixth century BCE, on which the tumulus of Achilles is represented in relief as the setting for the killing of Polyxena by the son of Achilles, Neoptolemus: see Sevinç 1996, Fig. 9, and 258.

28 For persuasive discussion see Cook 1973, 178–188, esp. 185–186; Rose 2000, 65–66.

29 For a detailed account see Rose 1999, 61–63, who reports on the results of the 1998 excavation, conducted in cooperation with the Çanakkale Museum.

> Furthermore, the gravestone of Achilles he anointed with oil, ran a race by it with his companions, naked, as is the custom, and then crowned it with garlands, pronouncing the hero happy in having, while he lived, a faithful friend, and, after his death, a great herald of his fame.
>
> tr. PERRIN
>
> τὴν δ' Ἀχιλλέως στήλην ἀλειψάμενος λίπα, καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἑταίρων συναναδραμὼν γυμνὸς ὥσπερ ἔθος ἐστίν, ἐστεφάνωσε, μακαρίσας αὐτὸν ὅτι καὶ ζῶν φίλου πιστοῦ καὶ τελευτήσας μεγάλου κήρυκος ἔτυχεν.

Alexander's companion Hephaestion laid a wreath on Patroclus' tomb, apparently nearby (Arr. *Anab.* 1.12). Rose suggests that *this* Tomb of Achilles, near Achilleion, was originally the site of a Neolithic settlement; but, over ensuing centuries, memories of settlement had faded. During the second quarter of the third century BCE the mound was 'monumentalized'. It was raised from about 5 to 13 metres, higher than any of the other mounds linked with heroes of Troy.[30] This public works project indicates that Ilion too by this time assumed that this was the tomb of Achilles. It further suggests a lively tourist industry in the region, which, as we learn, featured guided tours, stories, hands-on experiences, in some cases re-enactments, and opportunities for cult worship.

## 4 Tourists and Pilgrims, Ancient and Modern

The visits of the great leaders of antiquity have been discussed most usefully by Michael Sage and John Cook.[31] Xerxes, Alexander, Lucan's Caesar, Augustus, Germanicus, Nero, Hadrian, Caracalla, Constantine, and Julian visited not only Ilion/Ilium but also, in almost every case, the so-called heroic tumuli.[32] During

30 On this 'monumentalization', see Rose 2014, 190–191. If this is the tomb of Achilles, where is Patroclus' tomb? It is not the tumulus at Üvecik Tepe nearby, which has been shown to be the tomb built by Caracalla for his favourite, Festus, over a mound of classical date: Cook 1973, 172–173.

31 See Sage 2000, who explores what it was about Ilium that drew Roman and provincial travelers; Cook 1973, 14–51 gives an account of travelers from the Renaissance onwards, which takes us from the beginnings of a topographical (and archaeological) approach (with Lechevalier and Choiseul-Gouffier) in the late eighteenth century to the excavations by Blegen in the twentieth century. On ancient visitors see also Minchin 2012, 76–89.

32 Xerxes (Hdt. 7.45–46); Alexander (Plut. *Alex.* 15; Arr. *Anab.* 1.11); Caesar (Luc. *Phars.* 9.961–999) (Lucan's claim is not well supported by other sources); Augustus (Cass. Dio 54.7);

the long Byzantine era the region did not entirely lose its significance, thanks to the traditional education the upper classes still enjoyed. Indeed, the conqueror of Constantinople, Mehmet II, visited Ilium in 1462, observing 'its favourable location as to land and sea'. He also inquired about the tombs of the heroes—naming 'Achilles and Ajax and the rest'.[33] So why did these great men visit Ilium and the tombs? Sage observes that after Ilium had been identified as Homer's Troy, a journey to the site and its environs was a form of cultural homage.[34] The Troad had become a destination for Greeks who claimed descent from the heroes of the Trojan War and a destination for Romans who claimed Troy as the home of their ancestors. This landscape clearly had an enduring symbolic value that began with, but went beyond, the stories of its past.

Mehmet was by no means the last of the visitors to the Troad. The European Renaissance had awakened a new curiosity about the wider world. What attracted travelers to the east was in part the Ottoman world and its power,[35] but many also viewed the landscape through the lens of their classical learning. Since we do not have personal accounts of *ancient* pilgrims' responses to the landscape of the Troad, the responses of these *European* visitors, in their journals and letters, are instructive. Most of these visitors sought out and, in many cases with some assistance, identified what they understood to be the heroic 'tombs'; some engaged in a more personal way with the landscape.[36] When the

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Germanicus (Tac. *Ann.* 2.54); Nero (Tac. *Ann.* 12.58); Hadrian (Philostr. *Her.* 8.1); Caracalla (Hdn. 4.8.4; Cass. Dio 78.16.7); and Constantine (Zos. 2.30), who considered setting up his new capital in the area.

33 He then 'praised them and congratulated them, their memory and their deeds, on having a poet like Homer to extol them': Kritovoulos 4.72–73 (tr. Riggs). As Cook 1973, 160 points out, we have no idea what Mehmet was shown.

34 Sage 2000, 212.

35 Henry Blount, writing in 1634, observes that 'those parts being now possessed by the Turks, who are the only modern people great in action, and whose empire hath so suddenly invaded the world, and fixed itself on such firm foundations as no other ever did' are an area well worth study: see Blount 1650, 4. I thank Matt O'Farrell for first identifying some of the primary source material relating to modern travelers that I have used in this section of the paper.

36 Such travelers were Pierre Belon (visiting in the period 1546–1549), Richard Wrag (1594), Richard Pococke (1737–1741), and Richard Chandler (1764–1766). Belon 1588, 178 observes the location of the Tomb of Protesilaus. Richard Wrag 1599, 107 sees two hills in pyramidal form 'not unlikely to be the tombs of Achilles and Ajax'. Richard Pococke (ca. 1745), looking for the Tomb of Ajax near Rhoeteum, sees a 'little hillock, on which a barrow was raised'; although there were some broken pieces of marble about it, he says 'whether it was the Tomb of Ajax, would be difficult to determine'. Furthermore, near the Sigeum promontory

Italian traveler Pietro della Valle (1614) reaches the mouth of the Hellespont he writes that he 'felt pity powerfully awakened in me' and, on reaching the shore of the Troad, he kisses the ground.[37] When Lady Mary Wortley Montagu in 1718 landed at Cape Yenişehir near Sigeum, she climbed the so-called Tomb of Achilles.[38] Sharp-eyed observer as she was, Lady Mary feels the pull of the ancient poets.[39] On seeing Ajax's Tomb near Rhoeteum, she notes: '[w]hile I view'd these celebrated Fields and Rivers, I admir'd the exact Geography of Homer, whom I had in my hand'.[40] What emerges from the records of *these* visitors is that, like their ancient counterparts, they read the landscape through the lens of ancient epic; each saw the landscape in personal terms, as they identified with individual heroes who had fought on the plain of Troy; they saw it in cultural terms, as their heritage; and many, like Lucan's Caesar, or the Roman emperors, saw the landscape as their ancestral landscape.[41] Furthermore, as I have discussed elsewhere, they were aware of those who had been there before them: the stories associated with those earlier visitors, who had paused at these tombs and had paid their respects, *added further meaning* to the site for any subsequent visitor.[42] It is important to recall too that in this era before the archaeological excavations of the nineteenth century visitors readily accepted the advice of local informants as to the identity and location of the heroic tumuli.

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at the mouth of the Hellespont, he notices a large tumulus with two smaller ones nearby. He says 'I cannot but remark, if I may not be thought to give too much into conjectures, that these, possibly, may be very extraordinary pieces of antiquity, and the great one might be raised over the sepulchre of Achilles, as the other two might be those of Patroclus and Antilochus, who were buried here …' (Pococke 1811, 704–705). Richard Chandler visited in 1764, as leader of the Dilettanti Society's mission to Asia Minor. Writing in 1775 he records his observations of the plain of Scamander and the 'barrows' of heroes': Chandler 1776, 10.

37 Della Valle 1811, 7: 'I kissed the ground with reverence and affection, mindful of our ancestors who came thence …'

38 Halsband 1965, 415–427 at 417–421: in a letter to Abbé Conti, dated 31 July 1718, Lady Mary writes that her 'Curiosity supply'd [her] with the strength to climb to the top of it to see the place where Achilles was bury'd and where Alexander ran naked round his Tomb in his honnour, which, no doubt, was a great comfort to his Ghost'.

39 Halsband 1965, 416: 'Every Scene presents me some poetical idea'.

40 Halsband 1965, 420. The consultation of Homer as an authoritative guidebook is repeated as a theme elsewhere: see, for example, Napier 1840, 289. Napier offers a survey of the immediate region and attempts to read its landscape.

41 This same 'proprietary' sense is evident also in the writings of Allied (particularly British) soldiers posted to the Dardanelles in World War I: on this see Vandiver 2010, 241–280.

42 Minchin 2012.

## 5 Tour Guides and Informants

But who served as guides for the tourists and pilgrims of the ancient world? How reliable were they as sources of information? In focussing on *visitors* to the Troad, we have neglected their local informants. The emperor Julian, in the fourth century CE, offers us a fleeting glimpse of one particular guide, and his eagerness to share with visitors the sites of the Troy story.[43] On visiting the region Julian wished to explore Ilium and the surrounding area. He was accompanied by the local Christian bishop Pegasius, who seems to have been an unofficial custodian of pagan sites: with Pegasius Julian visited the city, its temples, and the so-called Tomb of Achilles, which, to his surprise, he found still in good repair (σῶον) (*Ep.* 79):

> [Pegasius] came to meet me, as I wished to explore the city …, and he was my guide and showed me all the sights.
>
> tr. WRIGHT

> ὁ δὲ ὑπηντήσέ μοι καὶ βουλομένῳ τὴν πόλιν ἱστορεῖν … περιηγητής τε ἐγένετο καὶ ἐξενάγησέ με πανταχοῦ.

We find, too, a tradition of literary pen-portraits, representations of the guide in the Troad region. Antipater, writing in the Augustan period, sets the pattern, identifying significant locations nearby on the Hellespont, associated with the Hero and Leander tale (*Anthologia Graeca* 7.666):

> This is the place where Leander crossed, these are the straits,
> unkind not only to one lover.
> This is where Hero once dwelt, here are the ruins
> of the tower, the treacherous lamp rested here.
> In this tomb they both repose, still
> reproaching that envious wind.[44]
>
> tr. PATON

> οὗτος ὁ Λειάνδροιο διάπλοος, οὗτος ὁ πόντου
> πορθμός, ὁ μὴ μούνῳ τῷ φιλέοντι βαρύς·

43 Julian, *Ep.* 79 (Bidez-Cumont) = 19 (Wright).

44 Musaeus too plays with this motif: Musaeus 23–24: 'If ever you go that way, do look for a tower. It was there that the maid of Sestos, Hero, …' (my translation) (σὺ δ', εἴ ποτε κεῖθι περήσεις, δίζεό μοί τινα πύργον, ὅπῃ ποτὲ Σηστιὰς Ἡρὼ …).

ταῦθ᾽ Ἡροῦς τὰ πάροιθεν ἐπαύλια, τοῦτο τὸ πύργου
λείψανον, ὁ προδότης ὧδ᾽ ἐπέκειτο λύχνος.
κοινὸς δ᾽ ἀμφοτέρους ὅδ᾽ ἔχει τάφος, εἰσέτι καὶ νῦν
κείνῳ τῷ φθονερῷ μεμφομένους ἀνέμῳ.

When Lucan's Caesar, after the battle of Pharsalus, visits the Troad, leaving Sigeum he first takes in the Tomb of Ajax and then seeks out the walls of Troy, now covered with brambles. Caesar is portrayed as the typical tourist: *inscius*, oblivious, unwitting. His guide, *monstrator*, is a local, *Phryx incola*.[45] The Greek writer Lucian, on the other hand, brings Charon up from the underworld on day-release to check out the mortal realm. Charon, unwilling to wander aimlessly, asks Hermes to be his guide. In their travels Hermes, a conscientious guide, shows him Achilles' grave mound ('I want to show you the tomb of Achilles', ἐθέλω σοι δεῖξαι τὸν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως τάφον) 'by the seaside'; Sigeum is 'yonder', Hermes says, and opposite is the Tomb of Ajax on Rhoeteum.[46] And Philostratus supplements our image of the local informant, even as he supplements our knowledge of older cult-practice in the region:[47] this guide, whom we have met already, is a vinedresser, someone who works outdoors, and who is on hand when a visitor, like the Phoenician merchant, stops and asks for information. Generous with his time, he is delightfully chatty, a typical local informant. As they sit in his vineyard by the sanctuary of Protesilaus, the vinedresser speaks with intimate knowledge and affection of the hero; he refers too to the Trojan War heroes who make their presence felt in the region: for him this is a semi-divine landscape. On heroes other than Protesilaus, however, the vinedresser's source of information, unsurprisingly, is his grandfather (*Her*. 8.1). It was the old man who had told him about the enormous bones that were 'indisputable' evidence that this was the Tomb of Ajax. It is on his authority too that we hear about Hadrian's visit and his reconstruction of the tomb.[48]

45 Luc. *Phars*. 9.961–979, at 974–977: 'Unwittingly, he had crossed a stream creeping along in dry dust—this was Xanthus. Oblivious, he placed his footsteps in the deep grass: the Phrygian local tells him not to tread upon the shade of Hector' (tr. Braund) (*Inscius in sicco serpentem pulvere rivum / Transierat, qui Xanthus erat. Securus in alto / Gramine ponebat gressus: Phryx incola manes / Hectoreos calcare vetat.*).

46 Lucian, *Charon, or the visitors* 23. Charon is dismissive about the tomb of Achilles: 'not very big', he says.

47 Philostr. *Her. passim*. With admiration the sophist looks back to the pre-classical cults of the heroes. For comment see Dué and Nagy 2002, xlvi–li.

48 On this, see above: Hadrian had embraced and kissed some of the bones, wrapped them up, and restored the Tomb of Ajax (*Her*. 8), which, we later learn, had been larger in the time of Artayctes (*Her*. 9.5).

We should note the merchant's dry comment in response to the vinedresser's claims (Philostr. *Her*. 8.2):

> Not without reason, vinedresser, am I likely to doubt such things, since you say that you have heard something from your grandfather and probably your mother or nurse …
>
> tr. MACLEAN and AITKEN

> οὐ μάτην ἀπιστεῖν ἔοικα τοῖς τοιούτοις, ἀμπελουργέ· καὶ σὺ γὰρ πάππου μέν τι ἀκηκοέναι φῄς καὶ ἴσως μητρὸς ἢ τίτθης …

The merchant remains sceptical about the way speakers can use voices from the past to lend authority to a claim.

The representation of the tourist guide at work, on location, is, I propose, a motif unique to literature set in the Troad. Although we find an awareness of itinerary markers and their mythological connections in, for example, Vergil or Statius, we do not, to my knowledge, find the figure of the tourist guide in other specific geographical contexts.[49]

## 6 Landscape and Memory—Again

As we have observed, features of the landscape prompt memories, in this case memories of the great heroes of the Trojan War and their performance in battle. But we have observed another phenomenon too. Experience tells us that personal memory in the everyday world is subject to distortion. In the landscape of the Troad, the identification of those tumuli with the heroes of Troy is a similar instance of memory failure, but on a larger, collective, scale and over a period of centuries.[50] How might this come about?

In his exploration of the dynamics of memory distortion, Michael Schudson sets out four separate processes: distanciation, instrumentalization, narrativization, and conventionalization.[51] In our study of the mounds of the Troad we have observed the combined effect of these four processes. *Distanciation*,

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49 For a description of a particular landmark in Vergil's *Aeneid*, see 8.190–279; for itinerary markers in Statius, for example, see Parkes 2014, 421–426.

50 For extensive commentary on these failures of memory—suggestibility, transience, and misattribution—see Schacter 2001, 12–40, 88–111, 112–137 (chs. 1, 4, 5).

51 Schudson 1995.

the passage of time, reshapes memory, especially when the original information has been fuzzy or uncertain. As details of actual situations and events are forgotten, the 'real' past over time slips away and is replaced by new information.[52] Once accurate memories had faded, and with the spread of the Troy story, a process of *conventionalization* ensued. By the seventh century BCE, it was inevitable that locals would begin to identify the prehistoric settlement mounds in their vicinity as the heroic tumuli described in the epics; they may have responded too to the needs of visitors, who came to see the ruins of Troy and the grave-mound of Achilles.[53] *Narrativization*, a process which runs in parallel with conventionalization, seeks to make the past (now being revised) engaging, by uncomplicating it and adding human interest, by identifying individuals and telling their stories. It may be, too, that information (such as the discovery of huge bones that might be linked with Ajax) is supplied retrospectively, to support these claims. And *instrumentalization* plays a role, as the newly remembered past is put to work and shaped to serve strategic ends.[54] A growing tourist industry in the Troad surely gave some impetus to this urge to memorialize the heroes of the Trojan War.

## 7 Conclusion

As I draw together these threads of my discussion of a particular landscape of value, that of the Troad, I return to the question I posed at the start: what is it that adds value to a landscape? What are the identifying features of a 'landscape of value'? I propose six criteria.

The first criterion is that the landscape should offer a distinctive topography, such as we observe in the extraordinary tumuli that characterize the landscape of the Troad.[55] The second requirement is the kind of 'humanizing' narrative that, first, links the viewer to the landscape and, second, enhances his or her experience of the wider world. The Troy stories that circulated in the archaic period provided a narrative context that made a place for the tumuli in the Troad region. Although these tumuli had no *real* connection with Bronze-Age

52 For important conclusions about the creation of 'false memories' in individuals, see Loftus 1979, 318–320.

53 This is a neat example of suggestibility, as described by Schacter 2001.

54 Schudson 1995, 351.

55 Cf. the topography of Teuthrania (see Christina Williamson's chapter in this volume); the ruins of Thebes (see Greta Hawes' chapter); or the landscape of the Aventine, the subject of Lissa Crofton-Sleigh's chapter.

Troy, they nevertheless prompted stories of heroic deeds and heroic suffering, with which successive generations, in the ancient world and the modern, have connected in different ways.

But if these associations are to survive they must have more than local significance. The Julian Rocks off the east coast of Australia—and their stories—are of interest to the local community; but they are possibly of less interest to Australians who live elsewhere. Only a small proportion of people would travel to Cape Byron in order to view the Julian Rocks. The Troy stories, on the other hand, were an important element in the cultural heritage and the identity of Greeks and Romans alike, and of those who viewed themselves as their descendants. Troy and its tumuli became a destination. The third criterion, therefore, is renown: a landscape of value must hold a more than superficial significance for a wider community. The fourth requirement, related to the third, is autopsy: such a landscape requires attentive and engaged visitors. A catalogue of visitors to the Troad, both ancient and modern, testifies to the prestige of this landscape. Furthermore, as I noted above, there is a value-added element. As one distinguished visitor follows another, some emulating the actions of their predecessors, those stories are added to the strata of memories that accumulate in and enrich the landscape.

The fifth requirement is that there be ritual activity in this landscape. The activity itself, whatever it may be, asserts the significance of the locale; its regularity, from year to year, ensures continuing engagement. The annual rite of the 'Locrian Maidens' is one such activity. Rituals at the Sanctuary of Athena at Ilion and the annual Panathenaea festival established by the Troad *koinon* in the late fourth century BCE maintained and reinforced the special character of this particular landscape.[56] The sixth and final criterion concerns the transmission of cultural memories. In today's world local signage or Wikipedia or Information Services at the National Library of Australia will give you information about the Julian Rocks.[57] But visitors to the Troad have always required

56 For discussion of the ways in which the Panathenaeic procession and associated rituals reinforced Homeric associations, see Rose 2014, 158–195, at 160–164. As Rose suggests (161), tour guides 'would have pointed to sites in the surrounding landscape'.

57 The signage, in respect of the history of the name, is incorrect (cf. n. 1 above), as I discovered in the course of writing this paper. Attractive and interesting as the proposition is, Captain Cook did not name these rocks. They were named the Juan and Julia Rocks by a person or persons unknown (the earliest reference is 1881). They were later known as the Julian Rocks (earliest reference 1893). In 1971 the name Julian Rocks was assigned and officially gazetted by the Geographical Names Board: for this account see NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service 2011, 7. In just the same way as the mounds of the Troad were

an active network of agents. Apart from Homer, the primary agent of transmission, there have always been tourist guides, informants, and storytellers, who remember the locations of specific 'tombs', who explain their significance, and who transmit traditional tales, perhaps with personal insights and embellishments.[58]

It is because of these six factors in combination that the landscape of the Troad has retained its uniqueness, its value, over millennia. Similar mounds are to be found in the Thracian landscape, and around Sardis; but, because those tumuli-laden landscapes lack a coherent narrative that has had meaning, and continues to have meaning, for a wider community, no memories are attached to them. The tumuli of the Troad, it must be said, have retained their particular lustre, not because of fine marbles and splendid remains but because of a series of false memories, because of their association with the heroes of the Trojan War, and because of the layers of meaning that have accumulated over time. The possibility of actual links with an actual Troy story has been excluded by archaeological excavation; yet these strange mounds continue to evoke memories, even now, of Achilles and Protesilaus, *and* of those who visited the tumuli to pay their respects. This remains, in its own special way, a landscape of value.[59]

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thought to be the heroic tumuli heaped up in the course of the Trojan War, so, through the human mind's tendency to suggestibility and misattribution (Schacter 2001, 88–111, 112–137 (chs. 4 and 5)), the Julian Rocks were thought to have been named by Captain Cook, who did indeed name Cape Byron nearby on his 1770 voyage. I thank Sue Chan in Information Services at the National Library of Australia for assistance in following up a more accurate history of the naming of this rocky islet.

58 Napier 1840, 293 comments on the problems encountered when visitors use both Greek and Turkish guides, who have different names for the same features: this causes 'much obscurity and confusion'. Even today, however, it would be difficult to locate the so-called Tomb of Protesilaus, for example, unaided.

59 I note Burgess's comment at the end of his paper (Burgess 2005): '[i]t was a most satisfying and even exhilarating experience to roam about the Troad … and ultimately stand on top of Sivri Tepe as the sun began to set over the sea … I do feel that the physical dimensions of my experience—the sights, the smells, the ability to move about and across the topography—all contributed enormously to my own comprehension of Homeric poetry, and the Trojan War myth as well, in its various, rich, and manifold forms'.

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CHAPTER 11

# Land at Peace and Sea at War: Landscape and the Memory of Actium in Greek Epigrams and Propertius' *Elegies**

*Bettina Reitz-Joosse*

## 1 Introduction

Between 2014 and 2018, the world is looking back on the First World War a century ago, and the battlefields of France and Flanders provide focal points for this commemoration. The scars of trenches and explosions remain visible in the landscape even today, memorials and seemingly boundless cemeteries have inscribed war remembrance into the landscapes, and literature, photography, and film have shaped and reshaped their image.

This chapter examines the landscape of another 'Great War', a war that would be remembered as changing the course of Roman history forever. On the 2nd of September of 31 BCE, Octavian's fleet defeated that of Antony and Cleopatra in the battle of Actium, at the entrance of the Gulf of Ambracia on the coast of Epirus. The final naval victory in the *bellum Actiacum* may not have been, on its own, entirely decisive in the protracted civil war between Octavian and Antony, but it began to be constructed as its crucial turning point soon after the event. For Romans, it came to mark the end of the bloody civil wars which had rent Rome almost ceaselessly since Caesar had crossed the Rubicon 18 years earlier. The victory in the Actian war was celebrated in Octavian's triple triumph two years later and it underwent a rapid mythification during the Augustan age.[1] Key elements of this emerging Actium myth were the role

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1 On the process of how this myth formed throughout the Augustan age, see most extensively Gurval 1995, who rightly stresses changes over time, rather than an immediate 'foundation

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of Apollo Actius (who had a small sanctuary overlooking the gulf and was depicted as having helped Octavian gain this victory), the role and image of Cleopatra, who had allegedly ensnared and enslaved Antony in order to gain control of the Roman empire herself, and the idea that the fate of the world hung in the balance at Actium, that this victory had preserved Rome from Eastern domination and brought about peace on land and sea (*terra marique*).[2]

This chapter does not revisit the well-researched political role or representation of the battle of Actium, but focuses specifically on the *terra* and *mare* of the battle—the Gulf of Ambracia in northern Greece—and the role that this landscape played in the formation of the literary memory of Actium. Focusing on representations of the landscape and seascape of Actium in the works of Greek epigrammatists and the elegiac poet Propertius, I examine the interplay between physical and literary landscaping that occurred at Actium in the decades after the battle, and the different ways in which this landscape was turned into a physical and literary memorial of a 'Great War'.

## 2 A Landscape of Victory: Nicopolis and the Actian Monuments

The seabattle of Actium took place in the entrance to the Gulf of Ambracia in Epirus in northern Greece. Octavian's campsite lay to the north of the bay, Antony's to the south. The Antonian troops initially held the interior of the bay. When the battle seemed lost, a significant proportion of them (including the commander himself and the Egyptian queen) broke through and escaped towards the south, while others retreated into the bay.[3] Almost immediately after the war, the site of the battle of Actium was completely reconfigured and monumentalized in a variety of ways (Fig. 11.1).

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myth' status for Actium, and Lange 2009. Investigations of the image of Actium in Augustan literature are too numerous to list here: besides Gurval 1995, see, e.g., Hartmann 1913, Wurzel 1941, Paladini 1958, and Miller 2009. On Actium in Roman art, see, e.g., Gagé 1936, Hölscher 1985 on the city of Rome, Zanker 2003, especially on naval and Apolline symbolism. See also Schäfer 2008 and 2013 on the splendid (probably Claudian) Actium relief, the fragments of which were reunited for the first time in 2013–2014 for an exhibition in Rome and Paris.

2 The formula *terra marique parta pax* is connected with the closing of the temple of Janus in 29 BCE (see Liv. 1.19.3, Aug. *Mon. Anc.* 13, Suet. *Aug.* 22). On the history of the phrase, see Momigliano 1942. It also occurs on the inscription of the Actium monument, according to a likely conjecture (see n. 10 below): Lange 2009, 109–111, 144–148.

3 Different reconstructions of the course and military tactics of the battle are compared in Murray and Petsas 1989, 131–136.

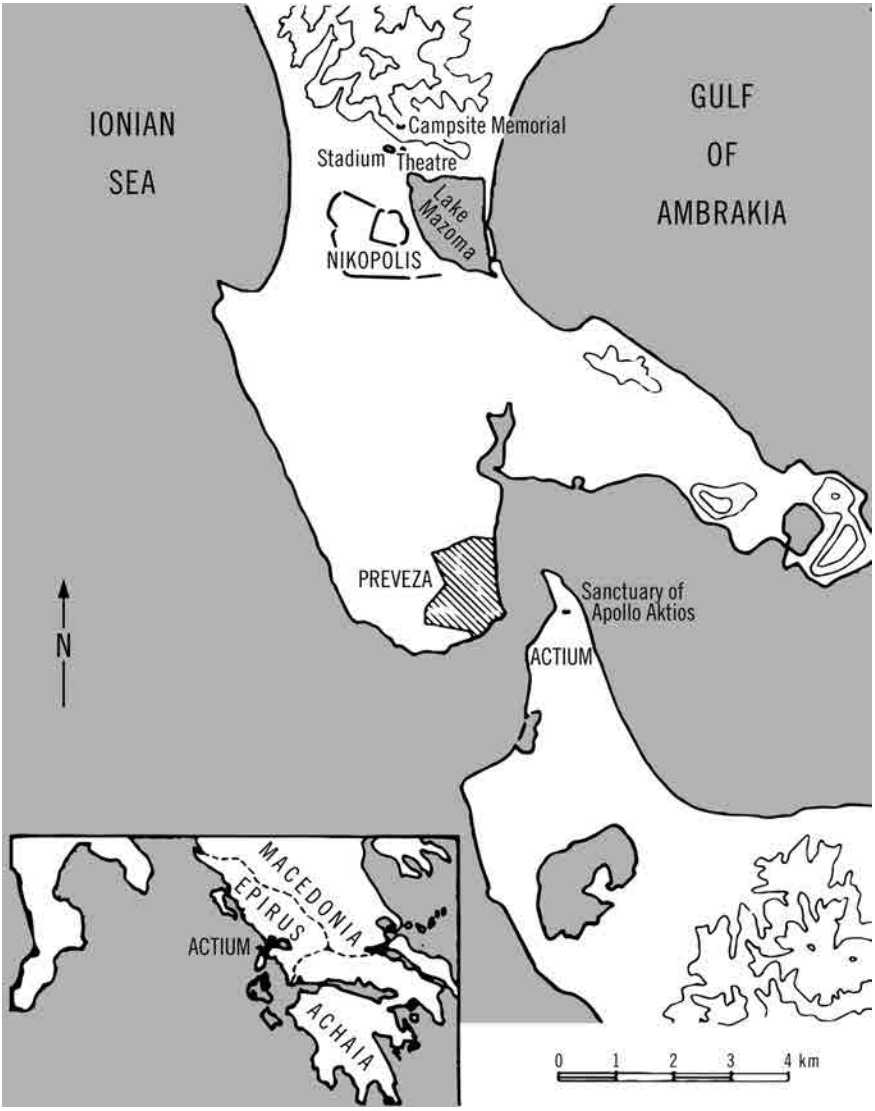


FIGURE 11.1 *The bay of Actium after the battle*
MAP: GABRIEL REITZ, ADAPTED FROM MURRAY AND PETSAS 1989, XI

Just below the site of his original camp, Octavian founded a victory city, 'Nicopolis'.[4] The city foundation also lay at the heart of a much larger trans-

4 Nicopolis in Epirus was one of a pair of victory cities, with another 'Nicopolis' founded near Alexandria after the final victory in Egypt: Lange 2009, 96–99. The foundation of victory cities

formation of the region and its settlement structures. Nicopolis was populated with the inhabitants of a number of surrounding cities and villages. There is archaeological evidence for the abrupt and forced abandonment of several of these settlements, such as Cassiope, where the fortifications were deliberately destroyed, people took away their personal belongings, and an entire temple was moved from there to Nicopolis.[5] The former inhabitants of such local centers were settled in Nicopolis to create a synoecism, sometimes 50 km from their home villages and towns, and most likely together with Roman colonists. The inhabitants of other cities, some at even greater distances, were subordinated to Nicopolis (Fig. 11.2).[6]

A pre-existing, small sanctuary of Apollo, situated to the south of the bay near the camp of Antony, was enlarged and rebuilt. Remains of the Augustan phase of the temple, as well as of a Hadrianic phase, have recently been discovered and show that some architectural elements of archaic and Hellenistic phases of the sanctuary were preserved during the Augustan rebuilding.[7] The sanctuary stood on a slight elevation overlooking the bay area and towards the island of Leucas, just as the god Apollo himself was imagined to have done during the sea battle.

Both campsites were also turned into permanent markers of victory. Where Antony's camp had stood, Octavian dedicated a *dekanaia*, ten captured ships of different sizes.[8] At the site of his own camp, high above the newly founded city of Nicopolis, he dedicated a huge victory monument, consisting of two terraces, the lower one supporting a large platform of 62 × 50 m (Fig. 11.3). The front of the platform, facing south towards the city below, was decorated with a long row of bronze rams of Antony's fleet (Fig. 11.4).[9] The front side of the monument also bore an inscription dedicating the monument to Neptune and Mars and

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ultimately followed a tradition established by Alexander the Great and adopted more recently by Pompey, the 'second Alexander', in the eastern part of the empire. On Nicopolis as a victory city, see, e.g., Purcell 1987 and Jones 1987.

5 Alcock 1993, 136–137. On Cassiope see Hoepfner 1987 and Schwandner 2001.

6 Alcock 1993, 132–137. On the question of colonists settled in Nicopolis, see Kirsten 1987, Jones 1987, Isager 2001b.

7 Trianti et al. 2013, 280.

8 On the *dekanaia* see Lorenzo 2011, 194–195, 375–379, and Cass. Dio 51.1.3, Strabo 7.7.6. Strabo mentions that the monument had burned down when he was writing. Prop. 4.6.67–68 has also been argued to refer to the monument (Isager 1998, 404), although the monument may no longer have existed at the time of composition of his poem.

9 Zachos 2003, 74 estimates that 36 rams were attached to the façade, with further rams probably attached elsewhere on the monument. Only one small fragment of a single ram has been found: Zachos 2003, 74.

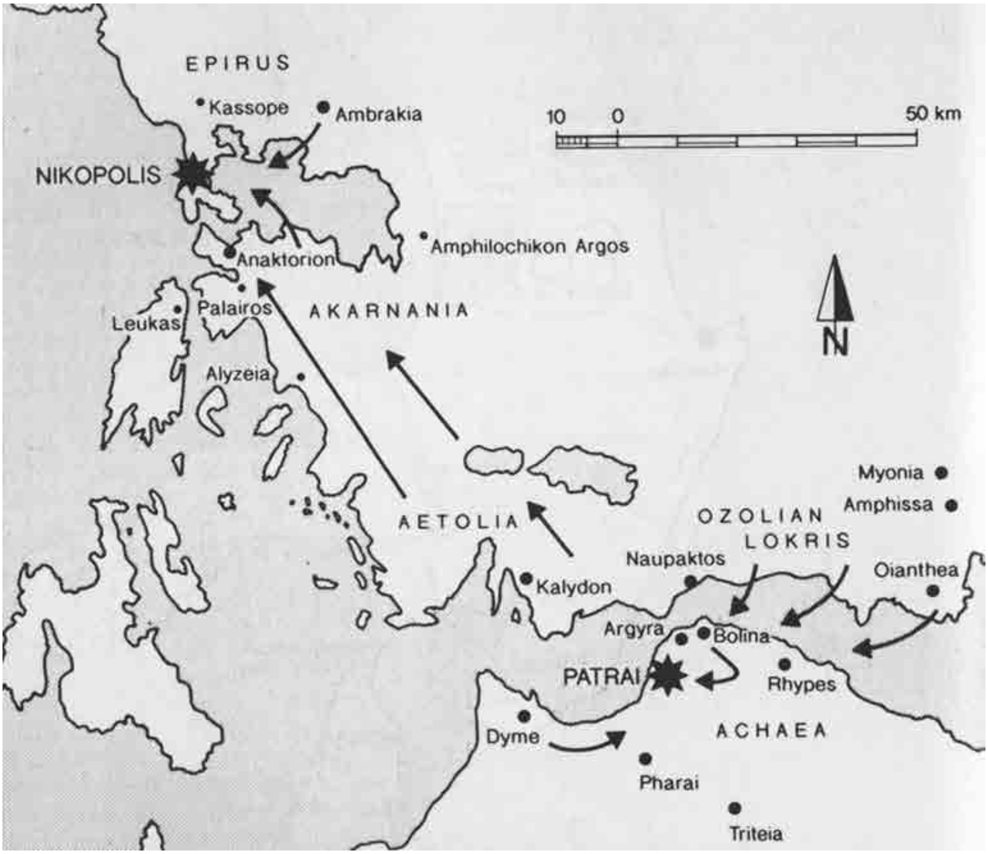


FIGURE 11.2 *Resettlement patterns after the foundation of Nicopolis*
ALCOCK 1993, 136

referring to peace established *terra marique*.[10] The platform was topped by a stoa, open towards the south, which enclosed a monumental altar decorated in relief sculpture and a number of statues.[11]

The monument is imposing in size and, even in its ruined state, exerts great visual control over the landscape of Nicopolis and Actium. The platform commands a view of the entire bay landscape, including, in the distance, the site of

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10 *ILGR* 158 = *AE* 1937, 114 = *AE* 1977, 778 = *AE* 1992, 1534 = *AE* 1999, 1448 = *AE* 2002, 1297 = *AE* 2009, 96. On the discovery of six new fragments, see Zachos 2003, 74–76. The inscription dates the dedication of the monument to before January of 27 BCE, since the title Augustus is absent from the victor's name.

11 On sculptural decorations discovered in the last 15 years, see Zachos 2003, esp. 77–92.

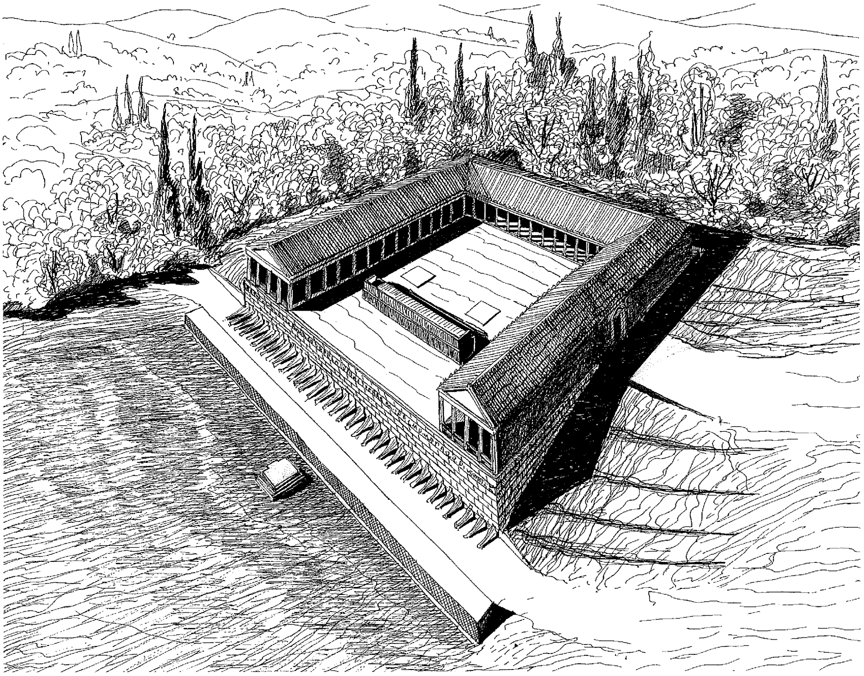

FIGURE 11.3 *Reconstruction drawing of the victory monument*
ZACHOS 2003, 69

the battle itself.[12] It is also itself visible from anywhere in the area of Nicopolis. The street grid of the city and even the cadastration of the surrounding countryside were aligned on the road leading up to the monument and (almost exactly) on the monument itself, maximizing its visibility (Fig. 11.5).[13] Through sightlines and the restructuring of space, the entire area of Nicopolis was subordinated to Octavian's victory monument.

12 Zachos 2003, 83: 'The central axis of the Altar directs one's gaze to the site of the sea battle off Actium and to the Akarnanian shore with its sanctuary of Apollo Actius. On a clear day, the mountains of Leukas ... were visible on the horizon'.

13 Bowden 2007, 136–138: '... the topography of the city was defined by the Battle of Actium, with the principal north-south axis of the city aligned on the Actium monument itself'. The direction of this axis and the orientation of the street grid also provided the alignment for the cadastral organization—the land was redistributed between the new inhabitants, bringing about 'a fundamental break with pre-existing power structures, or at least ... the redefinition of those power structures through the patronage of Octavian's administration' (136–137). See also Tsakoumis 2007.

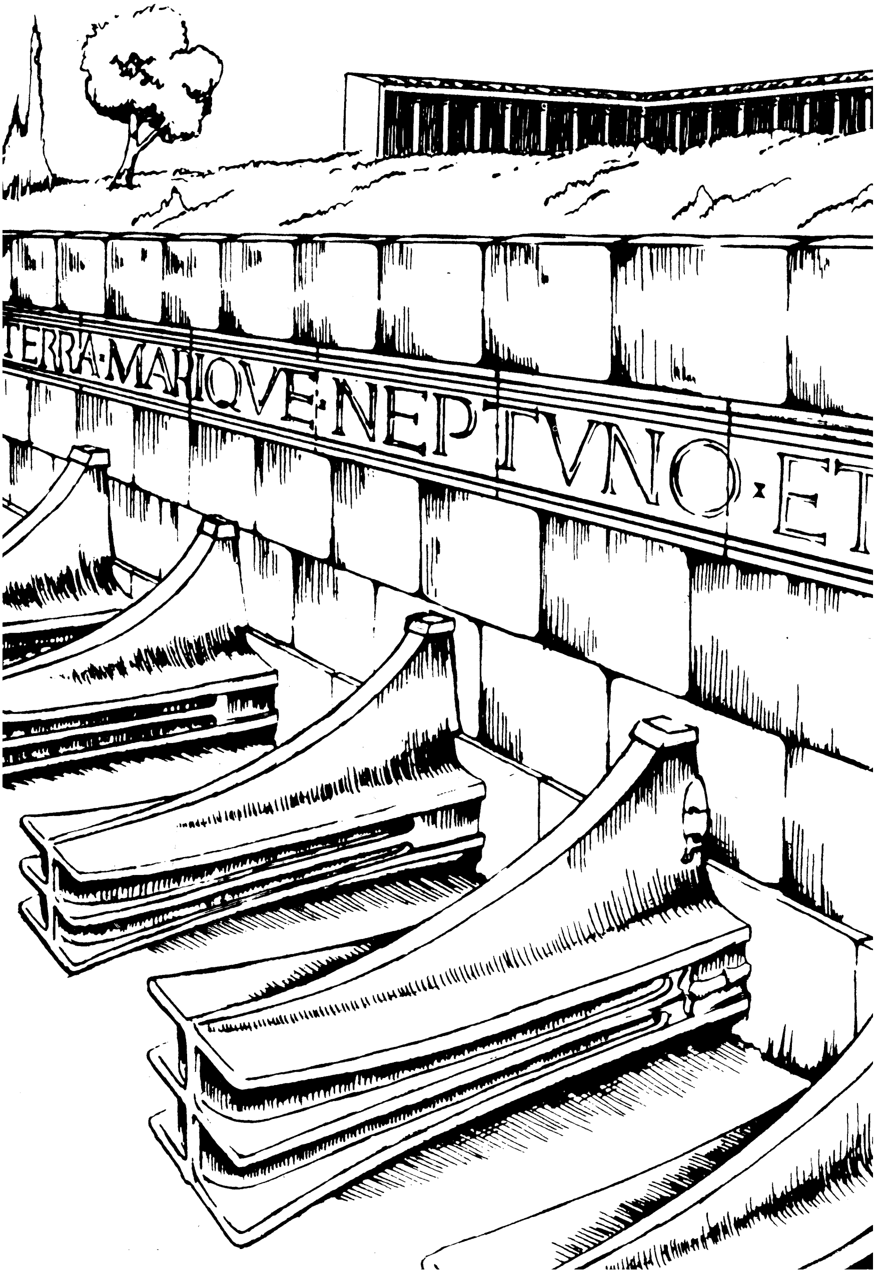


FIGURE 11.4 *Rams at the front of the victory monument*
MURRAY AND PETSAS 1989, 89

FIGURE 11.5 *Preveza peninsula with traces of Roman centuriation*
ALCOCK 1993, 139

## 3 Healing Nature: Remembering the Actian War in Greek Epigram

Two Greek epigrams explicitly respond to this refiguration of the land- and seascape of the Ambracian Gulf after Actium. An anonymous epigrammatist represents the foundation of Nicopolis as follows (*Anth. Pal.* 9.553):

> To exist instead of Leucas and fertile Ambracia
>  and Thyrrheum and Anactorium
> and Argos of Amphilochus and however many cities around

spear-crazed war, leaping upon them, had wrecked,
Caesar founded me, Nicopolis, the divine city.
Lord Phoebus receives this city for the Actian victory.[14]

Λευκάδος ἀντί με Καῖσαρ ἰδ' Ἀμβρακίης ἐριβώλου
Θυρρείου τε πέλειν ἀντί τ' Ἀνακτορίου
Ἄργεος Ἀμφιλόχου τε καὶ ὁππόσα ῥαίσατο κύκλῳ
ἄστε' ἐπιθρῴσκων δουρομανὴς πόλεμος
εἵσατο Νικόπολιν, θείην πόλιν· ἀντὶ δὲ νίκης
Φοῖβος ἄναξ ταύτην δέχνυται Ἀκτιάδος.

In this epigram, the foundation of Nicopolis appears as an ambivalent event. The city is a dedication of thanks to the god Apollo, but it is also the direct result of a δουρομανής ('spear-crazed') war which has destroyed the surrounding ancient settlements. The two different uses of ἀντί in lines 1–2 and 5 ('instead of' and 'as a reward for') emphasize this parallel between city destruction and city dedication.[15]

It may be that the Actian war is not the only war referred to here: Epirus had suffered from the assault of Aemilius Paullus in 167 BCE, with 70 cities destroyed and 150,000 captives, and the area never recovered from this blow.[16] Further destructions in the area may have been punitive operations because of disobedience and disloyalty.[17] But without doubt, all destruction was due to warfare involving Rome, and the most recent πόλεμος had been the Actian war, with the long months leading up to the actual battle draining the resources of the hinterland. The word ῥαίω (here translated as 'wreck') is used most frequently of the assault of one ship on another, and carries overtones of naval warfare.[18] The poet refers to the large-scale, forced relocation of the inhabitants of the area to Nicopolis, poignantly naming many of their deserted home cities, one by one, in his epigram. Ambracia is described as ἐρίβωλος ('fertile' or literally 'with large clods of earth'),[19] and the suggestion that war has stifled this fertility heightens the poem's sense of nostalgia and of the loss of these ancient local centers.

14 Translations are my own unless otherwise indicated.
15 Miller 2009, 58. He also notes that line 5 glosses the name Νικόπολις as πόλιν ἀντὶ … νίκης.
16 Alcock 1993, 141.
17 Alcock 1993, 143. See Strabo 7.7.6.
18 Miller 2009, 58.
19 The word (and the synonymous ἐριβῶλαξ) occurs frequently in the Homeric poems (see LSJ s.vv.).

An epigram by Philip of Thessalonica projects a different vision of the fertility of the Actian war landscape and the healing powers of nature (*Anth. Pal.* 6.236):

> We, beaks with bronze teeth, the voyage-loving weapons of ships,
> here lie as testimonies of the Actian war.
> See there, they shelter as in a hive the wax-nourished gifts of the bees,
> weighed down all around by the buzzing swarm.
> (Such is) the favor of the beneficent order of Caesar: for he has taught
> the weapons of the enemy to nurture the fruits of peace instead.

> ἔμβολα χαλκογένεια, φιλόπλοα τεύχεα νηῶν,
> Ἀκτιακοῦ πολέμου κείμεθα μαρτύρια.·
> ἠνίδε σιμβλεύει κηρότροφα δῶρα μελισσῶν
> ἑσμῷ βομβητῇ κυκλόσε βριθόμενα.
> Καίσαρος εὐνομίης χρηστῆς χάρις· ὅπλα γὰρ ἐχθρῶν
> καρποὺς εἰρήνης ἀντεδίδαξε τρέφειν.

Philip's epigram depicts the campsite monument at Actium several decades after the battle.[20] His epigram, too, deals with the consequences of war. He gently alludes to an ancient epigrammatic convention: the first person plural κείμεθα, 'we lie', recalls a long tradition of Greek epigrams in which the fallen soldiers of particular battles speak to the reader of their poetic epi-

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20 The dating of Philip's *Garland*, of which this poem formed part, is subject to debate. Cichorius 1922, 341–355 first argued for a publication date under the emperor Gaius (Caligula), but since then, Claudian and Neronian dates have also been suggested (see for a summary Argentieri 2007, 158–159, who settles on a Neronian date for the publication of the entire collection). In any case, the dates of individual epigrams within the collection remain unclear. *Anth. Pal.* 6.236 could plausibly be dated to the reigns of Tiberius, Claudius, or Nero—only a date under Gaius, who, as a descendant of Antony, suspended the Actian games and forbade the commemoration of the Actian victory, seems less likely (Cameron 1980, 51–53). As Cameron 1980, 51 points out, the epigram could also refer to the dedication of captured rams in front of the temple of Divus Julius in Rome (Cass. Dio 51.19.2). Philip seems to have lived at the imperial court for a period of time (Argentieri 2007, 158) and may have seen the monument in Rome. However, Philip's epigram *Anth. Pal.* 6.251 clearly depicts a journey to Actium (see n. 40 below). Cameron 1980, 51 adds that 'it may be doubted whether bees nested in the Forum of Rome'. Even though the real-life presence of the bees is not in question here, I agree that the image fits better with the setting of the Nicopolis monument outside the city than with the *rostra* of the temple of Divus Julius. On balance, I consider it likely that this poem treats the victory monument at Nicopolis.

taphs. One of the most famous epigrams of antiquity, the epitaph for the fallen of Thermopylae attributed to Simonides (*Anth. Pal.* 7.249), exemplifies the type:[21]

> Stranger, tell the Spartans that here
> we lie, in obedience to their words.

> ὦ ξεῖν', ἀγγέλλειν Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὅτι τῇδε
> κείμεθα τοῖς κείνων ῥήμασι πειθόμενοι.

In Philip's epigram, it is not the dead of the war but rather the Antonian rams that 'lie' at Actium, addressing the reader and commemorating the battle. The pointed use of the 'we lie'-formula in this unfamiliar way highlights the fact that the dead of Actium do *not* lie at the place of battle. Their bodies were lost at sea, when soldiers drowned in the gulf or were burned up in their ships, as Cassius Dio chillingly recounts (Cass. Dio 50.34–35).[22] The cost of war is clearly present in this opening—the dedication of ship beaks exists in lieu of a monument to the unmentionable fallen, which quite another κείμεθα-epigram might have adorned.

In contrast to the anonymous epigrammatist lamenting the demise of fertile Ambracia, however, Philip's poem does not depict war as impeding the land's fertility. Instead, nature has played a transformative and healing role in the aftermath of war. The bees are doing their peaceful work of making honey in these instruments of war. In depicting the bees, the poet turns a cliché on

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21 In the *Greek Anthology*, κείμεθα is almost always spoken by groups of dead, collectively, and in most instances by fallen soldiers. Other 'here we lie'-epitaphs of those killed in battle are: *Anth. Pal.* 7.246 (Persian soldiers fallen at Issus), 7.247 (Macedonians slain at Cynoscephalae), 7.250 (fallen Corinthians at Salamis), 7.253 (Simonides on dying well), 7.256, and 7.259 (Eretrians lying in Persia). The *Greek Anthology* also contains three epigrams in which the victims of earthquakes address the reader as they lie buried under the rubble (7.299, the much later 9.426, and the riddle 14.137, playing on these models), as well as one epigram spoken by a pair of brothers from their graves (7.445). Only in two other instances in the entire *Greek Anthology* is κείμεθα not spoken by a group of dead: 6.114 (a dead bull) and 9.411 (a disappointed lover).

22 See esp. Cass. Dio 50.35.4 on the burning ships as funeral pyres for the soldiers. On the soldiers' grim death in the bay, see also Propertius (discussed below) and Sen. *Clem.* 1.11.1, who speaks of the *mare Actiacum Romano cruore infectum*. Cf. also Veg. *Mil.* 4.44 on the special cruelty of sea battles because of the lack of burial for the dead. The sorry fate of those whose bodies are lost at sea is a recurring theme in Philip's work (*Anth. Pal.* 7.382, 7.383, 9.267).

its head: instead of describing the beaks as 'heavy' (the largest rams inserted into the Actium monument would have weighed more than 3 tons),[23] Philip associates the weight of the rams with the bees—*they* weigh down the rams by crowding around them.

In a number of ways, this bee population (and the rich symbolism connected with bees in Latin literature) gives a deeper meaning to Philip's ecphrasis of the monument. First, bee populations in ancient texts often function as an image of a well-ordered and productive state.[24] In this epigram, the bees and their honey production occur as a direct result of the εὐνομία of Caesar. In the rams, a bee colony is flourishing—and on a larger scale, on the battlefield, a city is flourishing, which, thanks to the beneficent rule of the emperor, is well-ordered like a bee state and similarly productive.

This parallel between the flourishing beehives in the rams and the flourishing colony of Nicopolis is strengthened if the topography of the victory monument is taken into account. In the first book of Vergil's *Aeneid*, the Carthaginians, who are constructing their newly founded city, are famously compared to a busy colony of bees (*Aen.* 1.430–436). This simile is focalized through the eyes of Aeneas, for whom, standing on a hill overlooking the building site, the toiling Carthaginians look small and indistinct like bees. The location of the Nicopolis monument offers a close parallel: the monument's terrace (where the beaks were positioned) offered a sweeping view of the city of Nicopolis from above, populated by similarly small, busy colonists.

Philip's epigram reinterprets the victory monument, rendering it a reminder of the casualties of war as well as a monument of peace; a symbol not only of destruction and devastation, but also of order and prosperity. The rams function as a stand-in funerary monument for the fallen, but they are also transformed, by the happy productivity of the bee state, into places of growth and fertility: the beaks nurture (τρέφειν) the fruits (καρπούς) of peace. Philip thus points to the complexities of a monument and a landscape that recall *both* the dead of civil war *and* the renewal that followed.

Even though several decades separate the two epigrammatic images of the victory landscape of Nicopolis, one thing has not changed: Caesar may have created a landscape of victory, but for both authors, the Actian gulf also remains a landscape of loss.

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23 Murray 2007.

24 For bee peoples as an example of a functioning community and a model for human societies, see, e.g., Cic. *Off.* 1.157, Plin. *HN* 11.11, and the bee society in the fourth book of Vergil's *Georgics*, on which see, e.g., Griffin 1979.

## 4 The *monumenta* of the Sea in Propertius' *Elegies*

Both epigrammatists depict the memory of Actium as inscribed into the Actian landscape by the destruction of cities, the foundation of Nicopolis, and the victory monument, and they reflect nature's response to war and its consequences. The Augustan elegist Propertius, too, considers the interplay between nature, warfare, and memory at Actium. The main locus of memory for him, however, is not the land, but the sea: the site of the battle itself, the *Actiacum mare*. Throughout his *Elegies*, in a number of different poems, he constructs the Actian sea as what might be called a 'shadow memorial'.[25] Invisibly, yet profoundly altered by the events of the war, the sea itself is depicted as preserving a complex memory of the battle of Actium. Propertius does not explicitly refer to the built monuments of the gulf, but a reading of the Actian sea throughout his work reveals that he builds up the sea itself as a *monumentum* that rivals and surpasses the built ones on the shore.

The Actian sea appears in four very different Propertian elegies: 2.15 (the speaker extols the power of love and the life associated with it), 2.16 (the speaker laments Cynthia's interest in a rival and compares his own enslavement at the hands of Cynthia to the fate of Antony at the hands of Cleopatra), 3.11 (women who enslave men with their charm, with the story of Antony and Cleopatra as the most elaborate of the *exempla*), and 4.6 (a hymn for Palatine Apollo).[26] Propertius' different 'takes' on the battle of Actium at different points in the collection have been interpreted in light of the evolving political situation,[27] the progressive canonization of the 'Actium myth' and Propertius' unique contribution to this canonization,[28] and the literary and generic ambitions of the different books of *Elegies*.[29] I propose to focus on Propertian images of the Actian sea, and thereby to read the poems together as a gradually evolving, complex whole. Focusing on intratextual references, I argue that in the different poems, Propertius constructs and reconstructs the battle and its site,

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25 Mayo 1988, 75, writing about WWI, uses the term to describe 'environmental forms without monuments or periodic rituals to clarify their role in history', that are only intelligible as memorials to those who connect them with war events. See also Clark 2014, 32.

26 All Propertian passages dealing with Actium are discussed in Gurval 1995, chs. 4 and 6.

27 See, e.g., the sustained 'autobiographical' reading of Stahl 1985, esp. 248–255. Gurval 1995, 191, on the other hand, argues that despite the altered political situation and the firm establishment of Augustan rule, 3.11 does not present a substantially altered vision of Actium compared to 2.15 and 2.16.

28 Gurval 1995, esp. 208 and ch. 6.

29 See, e.g., O'Rourke 2012, esp. 392–394.

in later poems activating earlier passages in order to inject new meaning into them. Cross-references between the different passages tie them together into a complex whole and construct the Actian sea as a memorial of the gains and losses of the battle of Actium.[30]

In Propertius' poetry, the Actian seascape is both literally and figuratively 'infected' with the events of the Actian war. In 2.16, Propertius points to Antony as an example of a man enslaved by a woman, and the fatal consequences of this infatuation (2.16.37–40):

> Look at the Leader who lately, amid useless cries,
> filled Actium's waters with his doomed soldiers:
> a base love made him turn his ships in flight
> and seek refuge at the ends of the world.[31]
>
> cerne ducem, modo qui fremitu complevit inani
> Actia damnatis aequora militibus:
> hunc infamis amor versis dare terga carinis
> iussit et extremo quaerere in orbe fugam.

The drowning soldiers' 'useless cries' in the Actian bay are preceded by an even more chilling image in poem 2.15,[32] where the poet imagines the final result of this slaughter: the Actian sea tossing the bones of the Roman soldiers killed during the battle (2.15.41–46):

> If all men wished to spend a life like mine
> and lie with limbs weighed down with deep draughts of wine,
> there would be no cruel weapons or ships of war,
> nor would our bones be tossed on Actium's waves,
> or Rome, so oft beset on every hand by her own conquests,
> be weary of letting loose her hair in grief.

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30 In reading the Actian sea as a *monumentum* to the battle in Propertius' work, I agree with and expand on Gurval 1995, who argues that '[t]he Ambracian Gulf … was always, at least in the view of the elegist, a memorial to the Roman dead at Actium' (259). See also Miller 2009, 83, who compares *Suppl. Hell.* 982.1–2.

31 All translations of Propertius are based on Goold 1999, with slight adaptations.

32 We cannot be certain of the original order of the poems in 'book 2', which appears to be an amalgamation of two different books, but there is no particular reason to assume that these two poems are out of sequence: see Heyworth 2012, 227–231.

qualem si cuncti cuperent decurrere vitam
et pressi multo membra iacere mero,
non ferrum crudele neque esset bellica navis,
nec nostra Actiacum verteret ossa mare,
nec totiens propriis circum oppugnata triumphis
lassa foret crinis solvere Roma suos.

The motif of the unburied bones of a soldier in the civil war is familiar from the final two poems of Propertius' first book. Poem 1.21 is a short epigram spoken by a certain Gallus to a relative of his, probably his brother-in-law. Gallus has been mortally wounded under strange circumstances connected with the fighting round Perusia, and he mentions his *ossa*, which will soon lie *dispersa*, 'scattered', in the hills of Etruria, and which he hopes his comrade's sister (presumably Gallus' wife or fiancée) will find and identify as his own.[33] In 1.22, the lack of burial for Gallus (now revealed as the elegiac speaker-poet's kinsman) is mentioned again: his bones lie unburied on the Tuscan soil.[34]

The pair of 1.21 and 1.22 is concerned with the remains of the unburied civil-war victim Gallus. In poem 2.15, on the other hand, Propertius imagines the waves of the *Actiacum mare* tossing not only the unburied bones of a single fallen soldier, but 'our bones', *nostra ossa*. Rome fought Rome at Actium, and the sea now contains the bones of the anonymous Roman Everyman. The dead of Actium are also not mourned by their sisters or relatives, as Gallus hoped he would be in poem 1.21, but by *Roma* herself.

The Actian sea, then, has been altered quite literally, in that it has become a restless and unmarked mass grave of Roman soldiers. But it also appears *emotionally* 'infected' with the events of the Actian war. Especially during the ecphrasis of the Actian bay which precedes the description of the battle in poem 4.6, the events of the battle seem to 'bleed' into Propertius' description of the sea and seascape (4.6.15–16):

33 1.21.9–10: 'and, whatever bones she finds scattered on the Tuscan hillside, tell her that these are mine' (*et quaecumque super dispersa invenerit ossa / montibus Etruscis, haec sciat esse mea*).

34 1.22.6–7: 'For you [the Tuscan soil] has borne the abandoned limbs of my kinsman, with not a handful of earth to cover his poor bones' (*tu proiecta mei perpessa es membra propinqui, / tu nullo miseri contegis ossa solo*). For an in-depth analysis of this pair of poems and the effect of the unburied soldier on the Tuscan landscape, see Makins 2013, 173–189.

There is a harbor of Phoebus which recedes to Athamanian[35] shores,
where a bay lulls the roar of the Ionian sea ...

est Phoebi fugiens Athamana ad litora portus,
qua sinus Ioniae murmura condit aquae ...

In the opening of this ecphrasis, geographical and topographical features are imbued with meaning, suggesting an emotional investment of the bay area in the battle that is to take place. *Fugiens* refers to the harbor's 'receding' shoreline, but also suggests that the bay itself is afraid of what is to come. The landscape proleptically mirrors the flight of Antony himself (cf. 2.16.40: *fugam*) to Egypt and of some of Antony's troops into the harbor; this flight will take place at the conclusion of the battle. The bay also 'hides the noises of the Ionian sea'. Again, there is more than one way of reading this phrase: the roar of the waves is stilled because of the protection of the bay, but the bay also seems to hide *murmura* of a different kind. The soldiers' *fremitus inanis* (2.16.37), the noises and turbulences of battle, are also proleptically hidden in the depths of this poetic sea.[36] The latent personification of the Actian land- and seascape that begins with *fugiens* is continued throughout poem 4.6. Propertius presents the sea as infected with the characteristics of the elegiac lover in general, and Antony, slave of Cleopatra, in particular. Besides its fear (the water 'trembles' in line 26),[37] and its desire to escape, the sea also has to 'suffer' (*pati*) the 'queenly sails' (*regia vela*), which Propertius calls a 'shameful thing' (*turpe*).[38] The sea has to submit to Cleopatra just like Antony himself, who in 2.16.36 had been described, alongside the speaker, as enslaved by a *turpis amor*.[39] The seascape of Actium is constructed as sympathetic to the fate of Antony and even assumes some of the characteristics of the lover-general himself.

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35 The Athamanes were a people living to the northeast of the gulf, in western Epirus.

36 In 4.4, *murmura condere* is also used of stilling the noises of war: Hutchinson 2006 *ad* 4.6.16.

37 4.6.26: 'and the water quivered, reflecting the flashing of the weapons' (*armorum et radiis picta tremebat aqua*). The water, because of its natural movements, presents a quivering reflection of the flashing weapons—but I would argue that it also trembles in fear at the impending battle.

38 4.6.45–46: 'Ah shame! That Latium's waves, while you are leader, should bear the sails of a royal fleet!' (*pro turpe Latino / principe te fluctus regia vela pati*!). Cf. also 4.6.22 *turpiter*.

39 2.16.35–36 (immediately preceding the passage quoted on p. 289 above): 'But I should feel shame! Indeed I should, unless, as the proverb has it, a shameful love is wont to have deaf ears' (*at pudeat! certe pudeat, nisi forte, quod aiunt, / turpis amor surdis auribus esse solet*).

Through depicting the physical and emotional infection and transformation of the Actian sea, Propertius renders it a shadow memorial of the battle of Actium. He also points explicitly to the potential of the sea to commemorate these events, especially in the epigrammatic closure of poem 3.11, which follows after a number of verses (3.11.65–70) about the memory and *monumenta* of heroic military feats in Roman history (3.11.69–72):[40]

Leucadian Apollo will bring to remembrance a host turned in flight:
  one day put an end to so great a labor of war.
But you, sailor, whether you are about to enter or leave harbor,
  remember Caesar over all the Ionian sea.

Leucadius versas acies memorabit Apollo:
  tantum operis belli sustulit una dies.
at tu, sive petes portus seu, navita, linques,
  Caesaris in toto sis memor Ionio.

Propertius here seems to 'zoom out' from the site of the battle he has described. Sailors will be reminded of the battle by 'Leucadian Apollo'. The epithet refers to the island Leucas, which harbored another sanctuary of Apollo. Leucas (modern Lefkada) lies to the south of the Actian bay. In order to sail in a southern direction or to approach the bay from the south, sailors either had to round the island or to sail along the treacherous route between the coast and the island.[41] Apollo Leucadius is therefore associated with the sea just outside the Actian bay. In the final couplet, however, not only this part of the sea but the entire Ionian becomes a prompt to memory: a gigantic monument to the battle and to Caesar's victory.[42]

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40 The poem's closing lines are reminiscent of a pair of epigrams by Posidippus (*AB* 39 and *AB* 119): see Heyworth and Morwood 2010 ad loc. Cf. also the (later) epigram by Philip of Thessalonica about sailors dedicating to Apollo Leucadius (*Anth. Pal.* 6.251.7–8): 'In return for which be kind to us, and send to our sails a favorable breeze carrying us with it to the shore of Actium' (ἀνθ' ὧν ἱλήκοις, ἐπὶ δ' ἱστία πέμψον ἀήτην / οὔριον Ἀκτιακοὺς σύνδρομον εἰς λιμένας).

41 Gurval 1995, 206–207.

42 Makins 2013, *passim* (esp. ch. 3) has shown how unresolved battlefields (where the dead of civil wars lie unburied) have a way of spreading and expanding in the Roman literary imagination, infecting the surrounding area. We may here be dealing with a similar effect. On the sea as a *monumentum* of war, see also Gurval 1995, esp. 205–207. Cf. Seidman 2014 on the landscape of the Teutoburger Wald as a *monumentum* of war. In the context of these

The phrasing of the closing lines also points to a more specific way in which Propertius sets up the sea as a monument to the battle, and the way in which this monument responds to the built architecture of triumph on the shore. A key lies in the phrase *versas acies*, 'turned battle lines', which Leucadian Apollo is said to commemorate. I would argue that Propertius constructs the very sea as a *tropaeum* or τρόπαιον in the true sense of the word: a monument that stands at the place where the enemy's lines turned and ran, or in this case, sailed away. In the case of sea battles, τρόπαια were erected on the shore close to the place where the enemy had been routed. The campsite memorial on the hill above Nicopolis has been interpreted as a huge version of this kind of τρόπαιον.[43] But Propertius' τρόπαιον is more inclusive in its commemoration. The *versas acies* in 3.11.69 recall uses of the word *vertere* in both of the earlier passages which mention the battle of Actium: In 2.15.44 the sea tossed the bones of soldiers (*nostra Actiacum verteret ossa mare*), and in 2.16.39–40, the ships of Antony were turned around in flight (*hunc infamis amor versis dare terga carinis / iussit*). We are meant to recall these earlier uses of *vertere* here (also prompted to this recollection by *memorabit* and *memor*). Remembering Caesar's victory means also remembering *nostra ossa*, tossed in the same sea. The later uses of *vertere* in 2.16 and 3.11 also inject new meaning into the earliest poem: the soldiers' bones in 2.15 are not only bobbing along on the waves, but also, on another level, eternally routed, again and again, in the Actian sea.[44]

## 5 Conclusion

The Actian war left indelible traces on the landscape of the Ambracian Gulf. The landscape was so extensively transformed and monumentalized that

lines, the problematic couplet 4.6.17–18 (suspected by, e.g., Hutchinson 2006 ad loc.) also becomes more comprehensible, as Gurval 1995, 259 argues. The *pelagus* itself constitutes the *Actia monumenta Iuleae carinae*—the 'Actian monuments of the Julian ship'. Although the double apposition remains difficult, the idea expressed in this line fits squarely with the thought already developed at the end of 3.11: the sea itself is a *monumentum*. Apollo of Leucas and this bay recall, in one sense, the 'Julian ship' of Julus, the son of Aeneas (in other words, the visit to this site by the Trojans in *Aeneid* 3.274–289: see Stahl 1998, 50–74), but also the ships of Julus' famous descendant Augustus.

43 On the τρόπαια of sea battles, see Lorenzo 2011. Zachos 2003 calls the Actium monument a *tropaeum*; Lorenzo 2011, 17 sees it as following the tradition, but ultimately puts it into a category by itself.

44 I owe this final suggestion concerning the eternal rout of the Antonian soldiers to Marian Makins.

almost 400 years after the battle, Claudius Mamertinus could still describe the city of Nicopolis as a *monumentum Actiacae victoriae trophaei instar*, 'a monument of the Actian victory, like a trophy' (*Pan. Lat.* 3.9.2). Literary authors engage with this manipulation of the landscape, they describe and interpret it. However, through their own medium, they also compete with the architectural monuments of the Actian war. With their representations of the Actian landscape of war, they turn its natural features into powerful 'shadow memorials' of the battle of Actium. For the anonymous epigrammatist, the land's ancient fruitfulness is affected by the devastation of war, but in Philip's epigram, nature's bounty has transfigured a monument of victory into a monument of peace. Propertius, too, reflects on the lasting traces of defeat and victory in the Actian bay, by raising the battlefield itself—the sea—almost to the status of a protagonist, by endowing it with a strong agency of memorialization and by personifying it as frightened and humiliated just like Antony and his soldiers.[45] Throughout the *Elegies*, later passages reactivate earlier ones with multiple verbal echoes to build up the layers of meaning of this seascape. Propertius turns the sea into an all-encompassing *tropaeum*—one that offers an alternative and more multi-layered kind of commemoration to the one staged on land by the victor, allowing for feelings of grief and relief, recalling defeat *and* victory, as the scepter of Cleopatra floats on the waves (4.6.58: *sceptra per Ionias fracta vehuntur aquas*) together with the bones of Roman soldiers.

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CHAPTER 12

# Thessaly as an Intertextual Landscape of Civil War in Latin Poetry

*Annemarie Ambühl*

## 1 Introduction

> I have always shrunk from the act of beginning. From the first word, the first touch. The restlessness when the first sentence has to be formed, and after the first the second. The restlessness and the excitement, as if you are pulling away the cloth beneath which a body rests: asleep or dead. There is also the desire, or the fantasy wish, to beat the pen into a ploughshare and plough a freshly written sheet clean again, across the lines, furrow after furrow. Then I would look back at a snow-white field, at the remnants the plough blade has churned up: buckets rusted through, strands of barbed wire, splinters of bone, bed rails, a dud shell, a wedding ring.
>
> ERWIN MORTIER, *While the Gods Were Sleeping*, translated from the Dutch by PAUL VINCENT (London 2014, 9)

The acclaimed novel *While the Gods Were Sleeping* by the Flemish writer Erwin Mortier starts with these reflections by the first-person narrator, an old woman remembering her youth during the First World War.[1] The passage can be read as a metapoetic meditation on literature, war, and traumatic experiences that leave their traces in the human soul as well as on the battleground. In scholarship, too, recent approaches from battlefield archeology to memory studies have stressed the huge impact the technological revolutions of the First World War and especially the trench warfare had on the landscape as well as on its representation in literature and other media. Half a century earlier, this was also true for the American Civil War, which left similar scars in the physical landscape and in collective memory.[2] In the field of Classical Studies, too, the ways in which ancient societies dealt with war and its reflections in literature

1 The original Flemish version bears the title *Godenslaap* (Amsterdam 2008).

2 On battlefield archaeology from a diachronic perspective, cf. Scott, Babits, and Haecker 2009. On the commemoration of the American Civil War landscape, see Huddleston 2002, Fuller 2011, and Chambers 2012. On World War I, see Keegan 1989, 179–250, J. Winter 1995, 2006,

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and the arts have attracted the attention of scholars; especially intriguing are attempts to reconstruct from the ancient sources, which mostly have a very different focus, 'face of battle'-narratives and post-traumatic stress symptoms suffered by the survivors.[3]

By coincidence, the summer of 2014, when the Penn-Leiden Colloquium on Ancient Values VIII took place, witnessed not only the centenary of the outbreak of the First World War but also the bimillennial anniversary of the death of Augustus, whose *pax Augusta* emerged only after a long period of civil wars that tore apart the very fabric of Roman society. In the present chapter I propose that Mortier's ancient fellow writers, the Latin poets Catullus, Vergil, and Lucan, used analogous metapoetic strategies when reflecting on *their* traumatic civil-war landscape, Thessaly, and transforming it into a literary and intertextual site of post-war literature, an uncanny place haunted by the ghosts of the dead.[4]

## 2 *Thessalia Infelix*: Thessaly as a Historical and Literary Landscape of Civil War

Thessaly, unfortunate land! With what crime did you so
hurt the gods that they inflicted on you alone so many deaths,
so many dooms of wickedness? What length of time will be enough
for distant ages to forget and to forgive you for the losses of the war?

Thessalia, infelix, quo tantum crimine, tellus,
laesisti superos, ut te tot mortibus unam,
tot scelerum fatis premerent? quod sufficit aevum
immemor ut donet belli tibi damna vetustas?

LUCAN, *Bellum civile* 7.847–852 (tr. BRAUND)

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and 2014, Tate 2009, and Seybert and Stauder 2014; in Pierre Nora's *Les lieux de mémoire*, too, Verdun plays an important role (Prost 1986).

3 On literary and artistic representations, see, e.g., Dillon and Welch 2006. Ancient warfare in its various aspects is the subject of two recent handbooks (Sabin, van Wees, and Whitby 2007; Campbell and Tritle 2013); on its effects on the landscape, see Hughes 2013. Pagán 1999 and Seidman 2014 apply approaches from memory studies to Germanicus' visit of the site of Varus' defeat in Tacitus (cf. Schama 1995, 75–134 on the Teutoburg Forest in the modern imagination); see generally Makins 2013, esp. 21–23, on memory and the aftermath of battle in Roman literature.

4 Nelis 2012b, 410 f. quotes similarly metapoetic lines by Seamus Heaney on ploughing, which rewrite Vergil's *Georgics* to reflect on the Troubles in Northern Ireland.

Lucan's civil-war epic was written during Nero's reign, more than a hundred years after the events it describes. It features some very innovative and almost post-modern narrative strategies that have convincingly been connected to the concept of postmemory and trauma literature.[5] While it would indeed be highly interesting to compare Lucan's civil-war narrative to modern war writing,[6] my chapter will approach his epic from the reverse perspective, namely Lucan's interaction with his poetic predecessors.[7] My aim is to show that his graphic images of the bones of the war dead scattered in a landscape that will forever bear the scars of the civil war can also be read as the result of an intertextual process within the Greek and Latin epic tradition.

In line with Lucan's subject matter, my chapter will not focus on the civil wars fought by Octavian, but on the preceding civil war between Julius Caesar and Pompey, although the Augustan reception and re-interpretation of Roman history inevitably superimposed itself upon this war, too. The Roman province of Macedonia, which included the northern Greek region of Thessaly, within less than a decade became the stage of two decisive battles of the Roman civil wars, the battle of Pharsalus in 48 BCE and the battle of Philippi in 42 BCE, the two of which are often fused in Latin literature starting from Vergil's *Georgics* (1.489–492; see section 2.3 below).[8] The battle near the Thessalian town of

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5 Walde 2011; for the present topic, her brief remarks on 'Civil War as Natural History' (300) are especially fruitful. Incidentally, the lines *BC* 7.638f., although primarily dealing with the loss of political freedom, almost read as a definition of the trans-generational effects of trauma: 'From this battle the people have received a mightier wound than their own time could bear' (*maius ab hac acie quam quod sua saecula ferrent / vulnus habent populi*).

6 Apart from the inevitable gap regarding the technological means of warfare, Lucan's passage on the unburied dead at Pharsalus (*BC* 7.786–872; cf. section 2.3 below) shows close parallels to descriptions of the 'war zone' as 'Death's country' in World War I writings (Piette 2009, esp. 39–41) and the characterization of the devastated land as a maternal body (Tate 2009, 171f.). For such an approach see Hensel 2005, a didactically oriented comparative reading of Lucan's Pharsalus and Gert Ledig's World War II-novel *Vergeltung* (1956). Even more apposite would be Claude Simon's nouveau roman *La bataille de Pharsale* (1969), which combines reminiscences of Caesar's (and probably also Lucan's) *Bellum civile* with autobiographical memories of the Spanish Civil War and the Second World War in the narrator's search for the historical battlefield at Pharsalus. Generally speaking, the history of reception of Lucan's epic regularly had its peaks in times of bellicose turmoil, such as the English Civil War in the sixteenth century (cf. Paleit 2013), and has sparked renewed interest in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries (see the overview in Walde 2012).

7 In Ambühl 2015, I have applied this approach on a wider scale to Lucan's reception of Greek literature, especially the Theban and Trojan tragedies and Alexandrian poetry.

8 On the fusion of the two battle sites, which was probably intended already by Vergil (*pace*

Pharsalus no doubt was one of the most traumatic battles of the Roman civil wars.[9] However, here I will not deal with the actual battle, the exact site of which is still contested, nor with the scarce historiographical accounts, but rather with the process of transformation by which the real Thessalian region is turned into a literary landscape of civil war, where geography and mythology, poetry and history merge into a paradigmatic landscape of anti-memory and anti-values.[10]

By reading backwards from the most extensive and intriguing account in the sixth and seventh books of Lucan's *Bellum civile*, I argue that Lucan's highly fictional depiction of Thessaly as a landscape predestined for civil war takes up and condenses characteristics associated with Thessaly in earlier literature, reaching back as far as Homer and Herodotus.[11] Here I propose to adduce two further intertexts that have not yet been fully taken into account in scholarship, namely Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos*, which has been filtered through a crucial Latin pre-civil-war text, Catullus' poem 64, written just a few years before the battle of Pharsalus (or was it, as we will see shortly?), which in turn

Lyne 2007, 50 f.), and its reception, see the commentaries by Thomas 1988, 150 and Mynors 1990, 94 f.; cf. Ahl 1976, 314 f. (on Lucan) and Joseph 2012, 57–62 (on Tacitus).

9 In a metaliterary gesture, Lucan's narrator states in *BC* 7.407–409 (*Pharsalia tanti / causa mali. cedant feralia nomina Cannae / et damnata diu Romanis Allia fastis*) that 'his' Pharsalus will even surpass the hitherto most traumatic Roman defeats near the Allia (by the Gauls in 390 BCE) and near Cannae (by Hannibal in 216 BCE), evoking the two prime Roman fears and at the same time 'correcting' Livy's characterization of 'his' famous Cannae (22.50.1: *Haec est pugna ⟨Cannensis⟩, Alliensi cladi nobilitate par*; cf. 22.43.9).

10 On the natural and cultural history of Thessaly, see Stählin 1924 and Philippson 1950; for various hypotheses about the battle site, see Stählin 1924, 142 f. and 1927, Béquignon 1970, 1071–1080, Pelling 1973, and Morgan 1983. On anti-values, cf. Sluiter and Rosen 2008.

11 According to Bowersock 1965, 278, the Roman view of Thessaly was mainly shaped by literature and not by reality. On Thessaly as 'one of the more obscure regions of ancient Greece' in the history of reception, see Aston 2012, esp. 247, who however shows that at least in the later classical Greek period 'the overall impression is that Thessaly did have a role in the ancient imagination' (ibid. 248). Cf. Aston 2009 and Phillips 2002, 378 on Thessaly's association with mythical figures such as the Centaurs (including Chiron), the Argonauts, and Achilles. Cf. Buxton 2013, 9–32 on the role of mountains such as Pelion in the Greek imagination; see also the chapter by Jason König in this volume. As Richard Buxton mentioned in the discussion, it is a curious fact that the most conspicuous feature of Thessaly for modern viewers, the Meteora rock formations, are not mentioned in the ancient accounts. However, I wonder whether the 'crag of Mt. Haemus' the witch Erichtho sits on (*BC* 6.575 f.) might not reflect this peculiar feature (see section 2.2 below).

was processed further through the post-civil-war narratives of Vergil's *Georgics* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.[12]

For this intertextual reading, I have selected three main themes that are associated with Thessaly in these texts: first, the transformation of its geographical features into a fluid and almost surrealistic landscape mirroring the man-made violence taking place there (section 2.1); second, its association with tragic myths and the problematic interaction between humans and divine or superhuman beings that populate this landscape and thus render it the ideal site for civil war (section 2.2); and third, the aftermath narrative in the sense of the *post festum* viewing of a battlefield focalized by a character or the narrator himself. Specifically, I will focus on the motifs of the unburied dead at Pharsalus and the ploughing of the contaminated battleground, which can also be read as a metaliterary trope (section 2.3).

### 2.1 *Mountains, Rivers, and Towns: The Transformation of the Geographical Catalogue in Callimachus, Catullus, and Lucan*

Lucan's epic roughly follows the battlegrounds of the historical civil war from Italy via Gaul and Spain to Greece and North Africa. Lucan's landscapes, however, despite their markedly learned aspects are not realistic descriptions of topography but imaginary 'textscapes', that have also been read as allegories for civil war and associated with its respective protagonists.[13] While this is true for all of Lucan's landscapes, there are a few of them which to an even higher degree evoke and at the same time subvert literary stereotypes:[14] the Massilian grove, which plays with mythical patterns of the violation of a sacred tree only to establish Caesar as cultural hero (*BC* 3.399–452),[15] the famous city of

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12 In Ambühl 2015, 145–178, I discuss Lucan's Thessaly more extensively against the background of Callimachus and Catullus 64; in Ambühl (forthcoming), I focus on Catullus' reception of Callimachus' hymn, an issue which has recently also been addressed by Fernandelli 2012, 199–203.

13 For the allegorical approach, see Müller 1995; for metaliterary readings, see Masters 1992 and Walde 2007. Papaioannou 2012 studies Lucan's distortion of Vergil's pastoral landscape; on Lucan's *loca horrida*, see also McIntyre 2008, 36–87, and on the landscape of war in his catalogues, Bexley 2014. Cf. Ambühl 2015, 135–145, with further literature.

14 In his seminal study on landscape as a cultural construct shaped by 'myths, memories, and obsessions' (14), Schama 1995 states that 'landscapes will not always be simple "places of delight"—scenery as sedative, topography so arranged as to feast the eye … And the memories are not all of pastoral picnics' (18). In the light of Lucan's Caesar, who on the morning after the battle feasts his eyes on rivers of blood and mounds of corpses (see section 2.3 below), this takes on an unwittingly sarcastic note.

15 Cf. Leigh 1999.

Troy and its surroundings (*BC* 9.961–979), which have been reduced to a non-landscape marked by 'ruins of ruins' (969), or Libya, the former domain of the giant Antaeus, of the Hesperides, and of Medusa, with its snake-infested desert which is hostile to the presence of Romans and humans in general (*BC* 4.581–825 and 9.294–949). As we shall see, Lucan's Thessaly even surpasses these strange places, just as the battle of Pharsalus forms the negative climax of his epic, as anticipated right at its outset: 'Of wars across Emathian plains, worse than civil wars, … we sing' (*BC* 1.1: *bella per Emathios plus quam civilia campos / … canimus*).

Not surprisingly in view of Lucan's self-conscious competition with the preceding literary tradition, in his excursus on Thessaly in 6.333–412, the geographical catalogue appears as a typical epic element, but as usual Lucan gives it a twist.[16] At first sight, Lucan's account seems to present a painstaking assembly of all the names of mountains, rivers, and towns that feature in the Thessalian section of the Homeric Catalogue of Ships (*Iliad* 2.681–759), the catalogue of Argonauts at the beginning of Apollonius' *Argonautica* (1.23–233), and Ovid's catalogue of Thessalian rivers and his description of Medea's flight above Thessaly from the *Metamorphoses* (1.568–582; 7.220–231). Moreover, Lucan's tale of how the primordial swamp was drained after Hercules split the mountains and caused a giant waterfall (*BC* 6.343–349) reworks Herodotus' description of Thessaly from the context of Xerxes' campaign (Hdt. 7.128–129).[17]

At second sight, however, there are some disturbing elements to be found in Lucan's geographical catalogue. The man-made disaster of the civil war seems to be prefigured in the cataclysms that shaped the physical landscape of Thessaly. Prehistoric violence still remains an active force in the landscape, as mountains and rivers fight each other and even change places, a phenomenon which recurs in the omens announcing the battle in the following book (7.172–176; cf. 475–484). Thus, Lucan's alleged geographical errors turn out to be a conscious strategy on the part of the poet, who associates cities like Pelasgian Argos or Phthiotic Thebes (6.355–359) with their mythologically charged namesakes.[18]

16 See the pertinent remarks by Gaßner 1972, 137–206 on the 'negative coloring' of Lucan's catalogues and especially the Thessalian excursus (183 f.); cf. also Bexley 2014 on Lucan's inversion of the epic catalogue.

17 On Hercules as a landscaper in the *Aeneid*, see the chapter by Lissa Crofton-Sleigh in this volume.

18 So Masters 1992, 150–178, superseding the older studies by Bourgery 1928 and Samse 1942. For details, cf. the commentaries by Korenjak 1996 and Tesoriero 2000. On the significance of Thebes, see section 2.2 below.

Here the two further intertexts mentioned above, Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos* and Catullus' poem 64, come into play. A formal clue that Lucan indeed alludes to both of them is the fact that they, too, contain catalogues with Thessalian place names; significantly, some of the geographical terms found in Lucan are shared only between these three texts and do not occur in the other catalogues.[19] Lucan thus refers in the form of a so-called 'window-reference' to his Latin predecessor Catullus as well as to the latter's Greek model.[20] Yet these formal correspondences signal even more important thematic connections.

Both Callimachus and Catullus situate Thessaly in a distant mythical past. In the *Hymn to Delos*, pregnant Leto is desperately looking for a birthplace for her son Apollo, but all the Greek regions and islands approached by her flee, as jealous Hera threatens them. Finally, Leto arrives in Thessaly and asks the river Peneius and Mount Pelion for help. Peneius is willing to offer her his protection, but in the face of the terrible threats uttered by Hera's henchman Ares, Leto does not accept his self-sacrifice and moves on, until eventually the wandering island Asteria takes her in and as a reward becomes fixed and renamed Delos. In the surrealistic world of the *Hymn*, where whole landscapes take to flight, primeval Thessaly is thus dominated by Ares' violent reign, in stark opposition to Delos as the birthplace of the new god Apollo, who will bring peace and harmony.[21]

The mythical prehistory of Thessaly is continued by Catullus in his poem 64, whose framing narrative tells of the wedding of the Thessalian ruler Peleus and the sea-goddess Thetis, the future parents of Achilles. The description of the wedding contains two short geographical catalogues, the first of which names the Thessalian cities and places from which the mortal wedding guests come (64.31–46) and the second the places of origin of the immortal ones and their gifts (64.278–302). While both catalogues rework the Thessalian section of Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos* (4.103–153), the second catalogue follows the Callimachean model even closer insofar as here, too, geographical features are personified. The river Peneius arrives in a hurry, leaving the green Tempe

19 Almost half of the ca. thirty names in Lucan are also found in Callimachus, which constitutes the closest match among all the texts (for detailed statistics, see the table in Ambühl 2015, 483f.). On learned Hellenistic place names as intertextual markers in Latin poetry, see Mayer 1986, esp. 49, on *Emathia*.

20 For the term, see Thomas 1999, 130–132.

21 See Bing 2008, 91–143 for a political and metaliterary reading of the opposition between Ares and Apollo in the context of the *Hymn to Delos* as a panegyric for king Ptolemy II Philadelphus; on the moving landscape, see Nishimura-Jensen 2000 and Klooster 2012.

valley behind and bringing various trees with him as a decoration for the wedding (64.285–293). The speeding river(-god) and the uprooted trees he carries with him are traces left in Catullus' poem from the geographical anarchy characterizing Callimachus' Thessaly.

Yet this seemingly idyllic re-writing of a detail from Callimachus should not detract from the observation that Catullus mainly highlights the negative aspects of the subtext by apparently reading it against its political grain. Although his Thessaly is no longer a primeval land of chaotic violence, but a highly civilized urban setting with traits of contemporary Rome, the optimistic evolutionary line suggested by the *Hymn to Delos* has been reversed.[22] Because of the events taking place in Thessaly the world will fall back into chaos, for the wedding leads directly to the Trojan War, as predicted in the Song of the Fates about the future deeds of Achilles (64.323–381), and to the Iron Age, as suggested in the narrator's pessimistic epilogue with overtones of fratricide and civil war (64.397–408).[23]

In his Thessalian excursus (*BC* 6.333–412), Lucan combines Callimachus' primeval Thessaly with Catullus' mythical and semi-historical Thessaly. Following the description of the evolution of mountains, towns, and rivers and of the peoples populating a prehistoric Thessaly (333–394), an excursus on the cultural history of Thessaly (395–412) explains why this land, where 'the seeds of savage warfare sprang to life' (395: *hac tellure feri micuerunt semina Martis*), was to become the ideal site for the Roman civil war. The line on the invention of the first ship (400f.: *prima fretum scindens Pagasaeo litore pinus / terrenum ignotas hominem proiecit in undas*) unmistakably echoes the beginning of Catullus' poem 64 on the launching of the Argo (1f.: *Peliaco quondam prognatae vertice pinus / dicuntur liquidas Neptuni nasse per undas*) and thus links it with the Iron Age theme.[24]

22 See Spencer 2010, 41–46 and Dufallo 2013, 48–58 on Peleus' palace as an imaginary Roman villa. Generally on the 'optimistic' vs. 'pessimistic' interpretation of Catullus 64, see section 2.3 below with n. 37. The Augustan poets were to adapt the panegyric dimension of Callimachus' hymn in a more straightforward fashion (see, e.g., Quint 1993, 21–31 and 53–58 on the opposition of cosmic order vs. chaos).

23 On the apple thrown by Eris as a crucial missing link in the narrative of Catullus 64, see Ambühl 2014, 118–123, with further references.

24 Zetzel 1980 warns that 'such reminiscence might be unconscious', which however seems unlikely in view of the extensive correspondences between the two texts. Anyway, what is at stake here is not so much authorial intention but rather 'the remembering genre' (Newman 1990, 220 n. 39); generally on intertextuality in Latin poetry as interplay between texts, authors, and readers, see Hinds 1998 and Edmunds 2001. Nicolai 1989 contrasts

Moreover, there is an even more obvious connection to the main topic of Catullus 64, for at the head of the catalogue of towns emerging from the drained swamp, Lucan mentions the ill-omened Pharsalus as the kingdom of Achilles, the son of the sea-goddess (*BC* 6.349–351: *melius mansura sub undis / Emathis aequorei regnum Pharsalos Achillis / eminet*). In retrospect, the curious coincidence that Catullus situates the wedding of Peleus and Thetis not on Mount Pelion as in the most common versions of the story, but at Pharsalus (64.37: *Pharsalum coeunt, Pharsalia tecta frequentant*) and thus precisely at the site of the Roman civil-war battle seems almost too good to be true.[25] Indeed most scholars—with a few notable exceptions—agree with the (questionable) ancient dating that Catullus did not live to see the outbreak of the civil war between Caesar and Pompey in 49 BCE.[26] But although for Catullus' first readers the mention of Pharsalus need not have provoked the same inevitable associations as for later readers, who may have re-imported their own civil-war experiences into poem 64 in an anachronistic manner, it can still be read before the background of the immediate pre-civil-war era in the sense of a criticism of the war-mongering politics of the Roman leaders.[27]

### 2.2 **Damnata fatis tellus***: Thessaly as the Land of the War-God*

Through intertextual references to Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos*, Catullus had turned his mythical Thessaly into a literary landscape with intimations of war and civil war. In his excursus on Thessaly, Lucan systematically takes up the hints contained in Catullus' text via a detour back to their origins in Callimachus and connects them explicitly with the Roman civil war. Lucan's poetic vision of a Thessaly in whose physical character violence has been deeply inscribed re-introduces the idea of a hostile and unstable landscape

Lucan's Iron Age motifs with Vergil's Golden Age, not with Catullus'; on the ambivalent role of the Argo (cf. Sen. *Med.* 301–379), see also section 2.3 below.

25 On the textual transmission of the line, see Heslin 1997, who notes that Catullus is the first Latin author to mention the place, although there may be Greek precedents for this location of the wedding (ibid. 591 f. n. 13; precedent identified as the Hesiodic *Catalogue* by Pontani 2000, 270).

26 For a possible later lifespan, see Wiseman 1985, 190 f. Newman 1990, 180 f., 217–224, and 407 proposes to date poem 29, and tentatively also poem 64, to the 40s.

27 Herrmann 1930 proposed to read Catullus 64 as a panegyric piece written to celebrate the marriage between Pompey and Caesar's daughter Julia and the child expected to be born from it, while Konstan 1977, esp. 101–105 (cf. 2007, 79 f.), retains the historical association but interprets it in the reverse sense of an 'indictment of Rome'. On political readings of poem 64, cf. the recent discussions by Nelis 2012a and Hardie 2012, 216–220.

that dominates the *Hymn to Delos*, but has left only feeble traces in Catullus (*BC* 6.333–338).[28] If we take the reference to the 'new-born' beams of Phoebus that are being opposed by Pelion literally (336: *Pelion opponit radiis nascentibus umbras*), Lucan's Thessaly is still the land of the war-god who tries to keep the sun-god from his borders, just as Ares in the *Hymn to Delos* had driven Leto and her unborn son away. In Catullus, too, Apollo and his sister Diana in contrast to all the other Olympian gods refuse to attend the Thessalian wedding (64.298–302). Their pointed absence can be read as a further signal that Callimachus is an important subtext for Catullus' poem. In the *Hymn to Delos*, Ares was not able to prevent the birth of Apollo, but in Catullus and Lucan, Thessaly has again become a stage for the war-god (cf. the *semina Martis* in *BC* 6.395). But this time even Mars, who used to support soldiers in battle (Catullus 64.394–396), along with the other gods no longer deems men worthy of his presence (64.407 f.). Consequently, in Lucan it is Caesar who replaces Mars at the climax of the battle of Pharsalus (*BC* 7.567–571).

So ever since the gods left earth at the end of Catullus 64 as an indirect consequence of the wedding at Pharsalus, Thessaly has been a godforsaken, evil land. Jupiter's absence at the battle of Pharsalus (*BC* 7.445–455) thus not only reflects the apparently godless world of Lucan's epic, but also continues its Catullan intertext.[29] In place of the Olympian gods, mythical or superhuman beings associated with violence and death now populate the Thessalian landscape, as Lucan links his Thessaly not only with the Argonauts and the Trojan War as Catullus had done, but also literally transfers Thebes and the tragic myths associated with it from Boeotia to its neighboring region.[30] These myths, like the one of Agave killing her son Pentheus (6.356–359), not only render Thessaly the fatally predestined site for the civil war (6.332: *Emathiam, bello quam fata parabant*; 6.413: *damnata fatis tellure*), but also point to the problematic interaction of gods and humans.

After all, Thessaly is also the home of the *Thessalides* or *Haemonides*, the Thessalian witches (6.435–437), and their ancestress Medea, who had visited Thessaly on her way from Colchis to Corinth and collected powerful poisonous herbs there (6.438–442).[31] As Lucan reminds his readers right after the descrip-

28 O'Gorman 1995 identifies unstable landscapes as characteristic of civil-war narratives in Lucan and Tacitus; see also Bexley 2014 on geographical confusion in Lucan's catalogues.

29 For important qualifications regarding the gods in Lucan, see Feeney 1991, 269–301.

30 In Ambühl 2015, 99–112, 179–288, I explore the significance of Theban myths and especially the fraternal strife between Eteocles and Polyneices for the *Bellum civile* in general.

31 Here Lucan presupposes Ovid's account in the *Metamorphoses* (7.159–356); cf. Keith 2011 on Ovid as backdrop for Lucan's poetic landscapes. On Thessaly's association with magic

tion of their homeland, these witches can reverse the natural order and compel the gods to change destiny (6.438–506). This reinforces the impression that Thessaly is an eerie landscape where the laws of nature cease to exist. Yet even these world-famous witches with their incredible capacities are introduced only to serve as a foil for Lucan's own creation Erichtho, who surpasses them by far (6.507–509). Pompey's son Sextus first catches sight of her 'sitting on a precipitous crag where Haemus slopes down, stretching out Pharsalian ridges' (6.575f.: *conspexere procul praerupta in caute sedentem, / qua iuga devexus Pharsalica porrigit Haemus*), where she casts powerful spells in order to bind the civil war and all its dead to Thessaly (577–588). Intertextually, this location turns Erichtho into a direct literary descendant of Callimachus' Ares (note the presence of a metonymical *Mars* in line 579), who in the *Hymn to Delos* keeps watch from the very same spot (63: ἥμενος ὑψηλῆς κορυφῆς ἔπι Θρήικος Αἵμου).

Through Erichtho's almost exclusive professional occupation with death and the dead (6.507–569), which culminates in the necromancy she performs on behalf of Sextus (6.570–830), Thessaly finally emerges as the quintessential 'other-landscape' or even 'anti-landscape' with fluid borders to the underworld, symbolized by Erichtho's murky cave that belongs neither wholly to the upper world nor to the nether one (6.642–653).[32] In this fictional place not only the spatial, but also the temporal parameters have become unstable, as Erichtho chooses a dead soldier from the casualties lying on the battlefield already before the battle, which is to take place only the following day (6.619–641).[33] Through this anachronistic leap, the aftermath of the battle of Pharsalus is

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in Greek and Roman literature, see Phillips 2002, who singles out Lucan and Apuleius for 'the two substantial roles of Thessaly in Latin writers' (ibid. 383). In Apuleius, too, Thessaly's capacity for metamorphosis manifests itself in Lucius' vision of a fictional cityscape populated by the statues of magically transformed animals and human beings (*Met.* 2.1).

32 Lucan's mainly non-visual, *ex negativo* description of the cave closely parallels the descriptions of the underworld in Seneca's tragedies (see the chapter by Kathrin Winter in this volume; cf. K. Winter 2014, 156–160 on a similar ecphrasis in Seneca's *Thyestes*). See also Walde 2010 on the 'anti-topographical' semantics of Thebes as an '*Un-Ort*' resembling the underworld in the prologue to Seneca's *Oedipus*; cf. the description of the necromantic grove from the same play (530–547).

33 On the laws governing Erichtho's fictional world and her characterization as a poet figure, see O'Higgins 1988, Masters 1992, 179–215, Korenjak 1996, Hömke 1998 and 2006, Finiello 2005, esp. 155–165 and 176–182, Arweiler 2006, and Makins 2013, 112–130. On a larger scale, Lucan's narrator, too, oscillates between 'Gleichzeitigkeit' and 'Nachträglichkeit', which Walde 2011, 296–299 explains as a traumatic time collapse.

retrojected onto the eve of the battle, thus reinforcing the idea of Thessaly as the territory ruled by the demons of war and death.

### 2.3 **Romani bustum populi***: Ploughing the Civil-War Soil Over and Over Again*

At the end of book 7, there follows a much more extensive description of the aftermath of the battle. This passage again refers to Catullus' poem 64 by transferring to Pharsalus images from Troy, the actual war site in the Song of the Fates. On the morning after the battle, through Caesar's eyes we witness a brutally transformed Thessalian landscape, where the rivers have been turned into streams of blood and the mountains into heaps of corpses (*BC* 7.787–791):[34]

> when shining daylight revealed the losses of Pharsalia,
> the appearance of the place in no way checks his eyes from fastening
> upon the deathly fields. He sees rivers driven on
> by gore and mounds of corpses high as lofty
> hills, he watches heaps sinking into putrefaction
>
> tr. BRAUND

> postquam clara dies Pharsalica damna retexit,
> nulla loci facies revocat feralibus arvis
> haerentes oculos. cernit propulsa cruore
> flumina et excelsos cumulis aequantia colles
> corpora, sidentis in tabem spectat acervos

This graphic description evokes the ravage caused by Achilles during the battle in the river Scamander in Catullus 64 (357–360):

> the wave of Scamander will testify to his immense heroism,
> …
> whose stream he will choke with heaps of bodies, slaughtered,
> warming the deep river with mingled blood
>
> tr. GODWIN

34 Cf. Henderson 1998, 205. On Caesar's gaze, see Leigh 1997, 288–306 and Lovatt 2013, 119 f.; in Ambühl 2015, 259–276, I read the scene against a tragic background. Manolaraki 2005 contrasts Vitellius visiting the civil-war battlefield at Bedriacum in Tacitus (*Hist.* 2.70); cf. also Galtier 2009 and Makins 2013, 73–95. Generally on aftermath narratives in Latin epic and historiography, see Pagán 2000, Perutelli 2004, and Makins 2013 *passim*.

testis erit magnis virtutibus unda Scamandri,
…
cuius iter caesis angustans corporum acervis
alta tepefaciet permixta flumina caede

Through such intertextual echoes, the historical battlefield of Pharsalus is transformed into a quasi-mythological killing field.[35] This strategy is pursued by Lucan right to the end of book 7. In Catullus, the mortal guests had left their homes in order to attend the wedding at Pharsalus (64.35–37):

Cieros is abandoned, they leave behind Phthiotic Tempe,
the homes of Crannon and the city-walls of Larissa:
they gather at Pharsalus, they throng the houses of Pharsalus.
tr. GODWIN

deseritur Cieros, linquunt Pthiotica Tempe
Crannonisque domos ac moenia Larisaea,
Pharsalum coeunt, Pharsalia tecta frequentant.

Lucan replaces the wedding guests by the civil-war troops who come together to fight the battle at Pharsalus (a rather twisted reading of Catullus' *Pharsalum coeunt*), and after the battle, in a final ghastly metamorphosis, they turn into the scavengers flocking to Thessaly to feast on the corpses of the civil-war dead (*BC* 7.825–832; cf. 827: *liquere leones*; 829: *deseruere canes*; 831 f.: *volucres … conveniunt*). It might seem as if Lucan here simply reverses Catullus' seemingly idyllic description of an innocent, happy Thessaly (note the recurrence of *felix* as a treacherous catchword in Catullus 64.25, 373, and 382), where the neighboring farmers leave their hard work behind and instead marvel at the riches of Peleus' luxurious palace (64.38–42):[36]

Nobody tends the countryside, the bullocks' necks grow soft,
the low-growing vine is not cleared with curved rakes,

35 Ovid had echoed another line from the Song of the Fates in Catullus 64 depicting the slaughter of Polyxena on Achilles' tomb (64.368: *alta Polyxenia madefient caede sepulcra*) in his lines on Pharsalus and Philippi in *Met.* 15.823 f. (*Pharsalia sentiet illum, / Emathiique iterum madefient caede Philippi*).

36 Martina 1991, 192 reads the links to Catullus in this sense, while Gioseffi 1995, 503 f. is more skeptical.

the bull does not turn over the clod of earth with the downward-
pointing ploughshare,
the pruners' hook does not thin out the shade of the tree,
and a scale of rust spreads over the abandoned ploughs.
tr. GODWIN

rura colit nemo, mollescunt colla iuvencis,
non humilis curvis purgatur vinea rastris,
non glebam prono convellit vomere taurus,
non falx attenuat frondatorum arboris umbram,
squalida desertis rubigo infertur aratris.

However, scholars have been notoriously divided on the issue of whether this passage in Catullus 64 nostalgically looks back to the good old heroic times or whether it ominously anticipates the coming of war.[37] The latter view seems to be confirmed by the recurrence of imagery connected with seafaring and farming that links the three major myths of the poem, the Argonauts' quest that leads to the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, the coverlet depicting Ariadne and Theseus, and the Trojan War, for ship-faring, agriculture, war, and obsession with luxury are all typical characteristics of the Iron Age. The description of the untilled fields may thus suggest the spontaneous bounty of the Golden Age, but at the same time it hints at the imminent onset of the Iron Age.[38] It seems as if Catullus' idle farmers are already on their way to the Trojan War and ultimately the Roman civil wars.

Such a 'dark' reading of Catullus 64 is advocated by Augustan and post-Augustan poets, who plough Catullus' unploughed Thessalian soil over in order to lay bare the Roman civil-war bones buried in the texts of their predecessors.[39] In the epilogue to the first book of Vergil's *Georgics* (1.489–514), Thes-

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37 E.g., Bramble 1970, esp. 38 f., advocates a 'pessimistic' reading of this passage and the poem in general; for overviews of the history of scholarship, see Schmale 2004 and Fernandelli 2012.

38 Interestingly, as Aston 2012, esp. 248 f., demonstrates, already in Greek literature between the classical and Hellenistic periods, 'the stereotype of Thessaly revolves around the dominant idea of wealth, specifically wealth founded on abundant flocks and herds', which 'acquires a previously unseen element of ethical condemnation'.

39 Most scholars have studied either Vergil's reception of Catullus 64 (cf. Buchheit 1972, 31–44; Newman 1990, 217–224; Cramer 1998, 57–68; Nelis 2012a, 21–24) or Lucan's reception of Vergil's *Georgics* (Nicolai 1989, esp. 120 f.; Leigh 1997, 293–295; Perutelli 2004, 89 f. and 93 f.; Casali 2011, esp. 99–101; Makins 2013, 192–195; generally cf. Paratore 1943; Thompson and

saly is a post-civil-war landscape that still bears the scars of the recent battles at Pharsalus and Philippi. Its fields are literally twice (490: *iterum*; 491: *bis*) drenched in Roman blood through a bilingual etymological wordplay with Emathia, Haemus, and Greek αἷμα (491 f.: *bis sanguine nostro / Emathiam et latos Haemi pinguescere campos*).[40] The narrator's prediction that these blood-sated fields will in times to come be worked again by farmers pointedly reverses the image of Catullus' untilled Thessalian fields (Verg. *G.* 1.493–497):

> Nothing surer than the time will come when, in those fields,
> a farmer ploughing will unearth with his curved plough
> rough and rusted javelins and hear his heavy hoe
> echo on the sides of empty helmets and stare in open-eyed amazement
> at the huge bones of heroes whose graves he's just happened on.
>
> tr. FALLON, adapted

> scilicet et tempus veniet, cum finibus illis
> agricola incurvo terram molitus aratro
> exesa inveniet scabra robigine pila,
> aut gravibus rastris galeas pulsabit inanis
> grandiaque effossis mirabitur ossa sepulcris.

Vergil's historicizing reading of Catullus' ambiguous description of a mythical Thessaly is developed further in the immediately following passage. There the suggestion of civil war in Catullus' epilogue (64.397–408, esp. 405: *omnia fanda nefanda malo permixta furore*; cf. Verg. *G.* 1.505: *quippe ubi fas versum atque nefas*) is conflated with another allusion to Catullus' neglected fields, which are this time deserted not by wedding guests but by soldiers heading for civil war (1.505–508).[41] Here in the epilogue to the first book, the close links between the figures of the farmer, the soldier, and the didactic poet that run through the *Georgics* reach their first gruesome climax.[42]

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Bruère 1968; Thibodeau 2011, 231–236), whereas I am arguing here that the crucial factor is the combination of both.

40 On the pun, see Nelis 2010 with full bibliography; he also notes (ibid. 134 n. 9) that Lucan in *BC* 7.847–868 (and, I would add, in other passages as well) enthusiastically takes up this wordplay; see also n. 49 below. Generally on such wordplay in Lucan, see Henderson 1998, esp. 209 f., and Bexley 2014, 395–399.

41 Cf. Buchheit 1972, 39–42, who however reads Vergil's lines as a 'Kontrastimitation' of Catullus' blissful Thessaly; similarly Cramer 1998, 63 f.

42 On this theme, see especially Perkell 1989, 27–45 and Gale 2000, 232–269.

Vergil's reading of Catullus was not lost on Lucan, who reactivates this perverted cycle of nature, where fertile fields are deserted by their farmers and turned into battlefields, only to become even more fertile for the benefit of future farmers thanks to the blood and the decomposing bodies of the fallen soldiers, who perhaps were once farmers themselves.[43] In the Thessalian excursus there recurs the motif of ploughing, when the first inhabitants of Thessaly till the rich soil that first emerges from the swamp (*BC* 6.382: *pinguis Bebrycio discessit vomere sulcus*; cf. Verg. *G.* 1.492: *pinguescere campos*). As readers familiar with Vergil will anticipate and are soon to discover themselves, that Thessalian ground is indeed to be fertilized again with rivers of Roman blood and heaps of unburied bodies.

Finally, book 7 culminates in the narrator's never-ending curse on *Thessalia infelix* (*BC* 7.847–872), the beginning of which was quoted as a motto for section 2. In this emotional outburst, Vergil's brief remarks on the double battles at Pharsalus and Philippi (*G.* 1.489–497) are transformed into a full-blown and highly subjective apostrophe of a personified Thessaly (*BC* 7.851–854):[44]

> Every crop will rise discoloured with tainted growth.
> With every ploughshare you will desecrate the Roman shades.
> First, new battle-lines will meet and for a second crime
> you will offer your plains not yet dry from this blood.
>
> tr. BRAUND

> quae seges infecta surget non decolor herba?
> quo non Romanos violabis vomere manes?
> ante novae venient acies, scelerique secundo
> praestabis nondum siccos hoc sanguine campos.

43 Cf. Lyne 2007, 53, and generally on the 'War Harvest' in the *Georgics*, Nappa 2005, 60–67. The image is anticipated in Lucan's Praise of Nero (*BC* 1.38 f.: *diros Pharsalia campos / impleat et Poeni saturentur sanguine manes*); in *BC* 7.539, Pharsalus is even described as lusting for Roman blood by itself (*aut, si Romano compleri sanguine mavis*). That this is not just a macabre poetic fantasy seems to be suggested by the Massilian vineyards fenced with the bones and fertilized by the bodies of the fallen after the battle of Aquae Sextiae in 102 BCE, as reported in Plutarch's *Life of Marius* 21.3 (cf. Hughes 2013, 130).

44 Lucan may even have extended the conflation of Pharsalus with Philippi (see also Manilius 1.906–913; Statius *Silv.* 2.7.65 f. on Lucan) beyond poetic geography, for in other writers the motif of the unburied bones of the civil-war dead is connected with Philippi (Suet. *Aug.* 13.2; Ps.-Sen. *Oct.* 514–516; cf. Martina 1991, 192 n. 10; Gioseffi 1995, 503; Galtier 2009, 396 with n. 11).

The crops fertilized with Roman blood and the farmers who will strike bones with their ploughs clearly recall the *Georgics*, but while Vergil's farmers in an apparently distant future will wonder at the rust-covered weapons and huge bones as artefacts of battles long past (but not yet forgotten), Lucan's post-war Thessaly is situated in a much nearer future and described in unambiguously negative terms, as the infected herbs rising from a contaminated soil parallel the poisonous plants used by the Thessalian witches and the desecrated Roman dead the corpse of the soldier violated by Erichtho (see section 2.2 above).

In contrast to Caesar's focalized viewing of the battlefield hidden underneath the carnage as a happy sign of his god-given victory that should be preserved as long as possible (*BC* 7.794–797), Lucan's narrator sees it as a crime that should be banned from memory (7.850: *immemor ... vetustas*; 867: *ignota*).[45] In his view, the excessively fertile plains of Thessaly had better be turned into a barren, anti-human, and forsaken landscape (7.866 f.), just the opposite of the spontaneous bounty of the Golden Age hinted at in Catullus 64. This vision of a Thessaly deserted by its inhabitants that serves as the collective grave of the Roman people (862: *Romani bustum populi*) through intratextual echoes evokes the unploughed Italian fields from the prologue that stand for the deep wounds the civil war has left (*BC* 1.24–32; cf. 7.391–407), the sterile sands of the Egyptian coast where Pompey was hastily buried (*BC* 8.712–872), and the ruined tombs of Troy visited by Caesar (*BC* 9.950–999).[46] Typically, the inhabitants mentioned *ex negativo* are again the ploughman, the farmers, and the shepherd (*BC* 7.861–865).[47]

With his counterfactual image of an infertile Thessaly, Lucan's narrator tries to break the vicious cycle of fertile fields turning into battlefields and vice versa. Yet in Latin literature, the tainted soil of Thessaly seems condemned to be

45 Cf. *BC* 7.411 (*hunc voluit nescire diem*) on Pharsalus in contrast to Cannae (see n. 9 above) and the narrator's (temporary) refusal to describe the fratricidal carnage (7.552–556). On Lucan as controller and preserver of memory, see Gowing 2005, 82–96.

46 The image of the ashes spilled from all the ancestors' tombs, a hyperbolic illustration of the scale of the death-toll at Pharsalus (*BC* 7.855–859), is taken up in the narrator's fantasy about violating Pompey's Egyptian grave in order to transfer the ashes to Italy himself (8.842–845); note also the verbal echo of the sailor from 7.860 f. in 8.791. As a whole, the narrator's curse on Thessaly is paralleled by his curse on Egypt, which he likewise wishes to turn sterile (8.823–830). With the urns burst by ancient tree-roots in 7.856 f. cf. the weary roots that barely hold together the ruins of Troy (9.966–969) and the grass-covered remains of Hector's tomb (9.975–977). On Lucan's 'poetics of ruins', see Perutelli 2004 and Spencer 2005.

47 Papaioannou 2012, 94 f. reads the passage in the context of Lucan's transformation of the pastoral landscape.

broken up again and again. Starting from Vergil's rewriting of Catullus 64, the motif of the unburied civil-war dead fertilizing the ground spreads beyond the borders of Thessaly into Italy and also beyond epic into elegy and lyric.[48] In a final metaliterary twist, Lucan himself turns into the future farmer who in his own *bella-plus-quam-civilia*-epic ploughs up even more ashes and bones from the intertextual strata (*BC* 7.858 f.: *plus cinerum Haemoniae sulcis telluris aratur / pluraque ruricolis feriuntur dentibus ossa*), thus fulfilling and at the same time renewing Vergil's prophecy.[49]

## 3 Conclusion: *umbrarum campi*

> An großer Fläche fließt Peneios frei,
> Umbuscht, umbaumt, in still' und feuchten Buchten
> Die Ebne dehnt sich zu der Berge Schluchten,—
> Und oben liegt Pharsalus alt und neu …
> Wie oft schon wiederholt sich's! Wird sich immerfort
> In's Ewige wiederholen …
>
> JOHANN WOLFGANG VON GOETHE, *Faust: Der Tragödie zweiter Teil*, 2nd Act

To sum up, Lucan's Thessaly is obviously a fictional construct with only faint resemblances to the actual physical and historical region in Greece. Although all of its characteristic features such as the surrounding mountains, the rivers, the fertile plains with their farmers, and the towns still figure in the Thessalian excursus in book 6 and the narrative of the battle at Pharsalus and its aftermath in book 7 of the *Bellum civile*, they are one by one turned into negative portents that render Thessaly the predestined place for the Roman civil war. By

48 On Propertius' fertile Umbrian fields fattened and haunted by the bones and shades of the civil-war dead (1.21 and 22), see Parker 1992 and Hendry 1997; on Horace (*Carm.* 2.1.29–31) and his reception in Lucan, see Groß 2013, 98–101. These texts and the passages discussed above have been studied in depth by Makins 2013, 156–206.

49 Although *dentibus* on the textual surface means 'harrows', I suspect that in its adjacency to 'bones', the association with 'teeth' is deliberate. In view of the wordplay with 'blood' (see n. 40 above), it is probably no coincidence either that Mount Ossa, the 'bone' mountain, opens and literally concludes the description of Thessaly in *BC* 6.334 and 412 (on its associations with the gigantomachy, see Masters 1992, 154 f. and 176); it returns in *BC* 7.176 (*ire per Ossaeam rapidus Boebeida sanguis*), where the 'bones' and the blood constitute an omen for the impending battle (cf. the sequence *cruor … sanguine … ossibus … sanguine* in 7.535–539).

appropriating various texts from Homer via Callimachus and Catullus to Vergil and beyond, where Thessaly had gradually metamorphosed from a mythical landscape associated with violent and evil forces into a paradigmatic civil-war battlefield, Lucan's epic forms the climax of an irreversible intertextual chain reaction, a process which is self-consciously reflected in his work.

In contrast to Actium with its elaborate Augustan commemoration program or even Philippi, which was at least indirectly represented by the temple of Mars Ultor on the Forum of Augustus in the heart of Rome, the actual battle site at Pharsalus seems soon to have become a forgotten place.[50] So apparently it is precisely the lack of any visible remains or official markers that inspired Lucan's passionate *damnatio memoriae* of Thessaly. Yet paradoxically his curse effects a powerful commemoration of the Thessalian 'ghost fields' (*BC* 7.863: *umbrarum campos*), an imaginary text-landscape embodying the traumatic heritage of the civil wars in Latin poetry. Through his agency, Pharsalus and its dead live on forever.[51]

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50 Philippson 1950, 224 characterizes the battle as a minor disturbance in the long and peaceful history of Thessaly during the Roman period. On Actium and its commemoration, see Quint 1993, 21–49 (cf. ibid. 147–157 on Pharsalus), Gurval 1995, esp. 19–85 (cf. ibid. 20 and 30 f. on the absence of any formal recognition of Caesar's victory at Pharsalus), and the chapter by Bettina Reitz-Joosse in this volume.

51 See, e.g., Domdey 2005, 395–400 on Goethe's reception of Lucan in the 'Classical Walpurgis Night' from *Faust II*, the source of the motto above.—I would like to thank the organizers and audience of the Penn-Leiden Colloquium as well as Mark Heerink and my colleagues at Mainz for their stimulating remarks.

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# PART 5

## *Moving Around*

CHAPTER 13

# Migration and Landscapes of Value in Attica

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## 1 Introduction

> In considering the ways in which the significance of the landscape gradually emerged, through practices of building, maintenance, tending, harvesting, and dwelling, we are constructing in the present an analogy for past worlds of meaning.[1]

Even a brief review of the literary sources of the classical period provides an indication that the inhabitants of rural Attica felt a strong attachment to their ancestral place of residence. For example, Thucydides informs us that as the Athenians prepared to evacuate the countryside at the onset of the Peloponnesian War, 'they found it difficult to move, as most of them had been always used to living in the country,' and that they were deeply discontented at having to 'bid farewell to what each regarded as nothing other than their own *polis*'.[2] Similarly, Isocrates notes in the *Areopagiticus* that, among previous generations of Athenians, 'many of the citizens never came into the *astu* even for the festivals, but chose to stay at home in the enjoyment of their own possessions rather than have the benefit of the public things'.[3] And the famous opening scene of the *Acharnians* records Dicaeopolis' dissatisfaction with town life, as he laments that 'I … think of my fields, long for peace, curse town life and regret my dear country home …'.[4]

These and other testimonia, written from the perspective of the urban dweller, have strongly inclined the perceptions of many modern scholars about the relationship between town and countryside in ancient Athens. The prevailing tendency has been to regard Athens and Attica in a bipolar manner, with the

1 Thomas 2006 [2001], 181.

2 Thuc. 2.14.2–16.2: χαλεπῶς δὲ αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ αἰεὶ εἰωθέναι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς διαιτᾶσθαι ἡ ἀνάστασις ἐγίγνετο … ἐβαρύνοντο δὲ καὶ χαλεπῶς ἔφερον οἰκίας τε καταλείποντες … καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ πόλιν τὴν αὑτοῦ ἀπολείπων ἕκαστος.

3 Isoc. 7.52: καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν μηδ' εἰς τὰς ἑορτὰς εἰς ἄστυ καταβαίνειν, ἀλλ' αἱρεῖσθαι μένειν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀγαθοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν κοινῶν ἀπολαύειν.

4 Ar. *Ach.* 32–33: ἀποβλέπων ἐς τὸν ἀγρὸν εἰρήνης ἐρῶν, / στυγῶν μὲν ἄστυ τὸν δ' ἐμὸν δῆμον ποθῶν.

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urban centers of *astu* and port on one side and the more or less undifferentiated mass of extra-urban Attica on the other. The distance between the two poles has been variously calculated,[5] but the city-countryside divide has not, on the whole, been seriously questioned.

This tendency to place all of rural Attica on one side of the equation has allowed the surface-level uniformity of the demes, trittyes, and tribes of the Cleisthenic democratic system to obscure the dynamic nature of the Athenian countryside. In particular, while it is accepted that a significant proportion of the citizen population of Athens did not reside full-time in the deme with which they were politically affiliated, many have espoused the position, consciously or unconsciously, that attachment to the home deme was so strong that little less than the political and economic attractions of the urban centers could overcome it. As a result, it is often assumed that when individuals did choose to leave their ancestral deme for residence in another locale, the majority of this movement was not only bipolar—country or city—but also centripetal, as the advantages of life in Athens or Peiraieus overcame a natural reluctance to migrate away from the home deme.

This set of underlying, and often unacknowledged, assumptions has led to a situation in which only a few scholars have attempted to investigate the question of personal mobility in classical Athens. Nevertheless, it is apparent from their investigations that the pattern of migration in Attica is much more intricate than has been generally appreciated. It is moreover clear that the factors that played into the migration decisions of individuals are more complex than simply the political and economic attractions of the urban center(s). One of the things that provides meaning to a landscape is the relationship of the inhabitants of that landscape to their surroundings; as Julian Thomas has noted, 'there are two quite different understandings of the term "landscape": as a territory which can be apprehended visually, and as a set of relationships between people and places which provide the context for everyday conduct'.[6] Therefore, the term 'landscape' in this investigation must be broadly construed. On the one hand, the choice of dwelling place for each individual was influenced by the topography of Attica, and the ways in which the built environment impacted, and was in turn impacted by, people's interactions with their physical surroundings. On the other hand, the conceptual landscape of Attica encompassed a

5 For example, de Ste. Croix argued that the *agorai* of the rural demes were regularly held in the *astu*, a view which is now largely discredited (1972, 400–401). On the other extreme, Nicholas Jones has claimed that 'a consistent state of estrangement, alienation, even hostility' existed between the rural demes and the city dwellers (2004, 16).

6 Thomas 2006 [2001], 181.

multifaceted web of social, religious, economic, and political issues that further affected people's decision-making. Together, the physical and conceptual landscapes of Attica combined to create a dynamic matrix of factors, leading to patterns of migration that are markedly divergent across the Athenian countryside.

## 2 Methodology

The findings presented here represent part of the preliminary results from a larger, long-term, systematic investigation of migration habits in Attica. This study incorporates the totality of the epigraphic and literary evidence for personal mobility and property ownership patterns in more than one dozen Attic demes, beginning with the classical period and continuing into the Roman era. The selected demes are of varying sizes, located throughout the Attic peninsula, and have different economic, religious, and topographical profiles, thus allowing them to be considered representative of various aspects of the Cleisthenic sociopolitical organization.

As noted above, this is not the first time that aspects of this issue have been investigated. However, previous studies have been limited either in geographical extent—examining only a few locales in the Athenian countryside—or in scope—considering only a subset of the available evidence.[7] Most generally, such investigations have focused almost exclusively on the evidence about personal mobility in Athens provided by Attic funerary inscriptions of secure provenance. This focus is natural; the vast number of funerary inscriptions from Attica alone provides a fruitful body of evidence, and the basic assumption, that people in the ancient Greek world tended to be buried in close proximity to their place of residence except in special cases, has not been systematically challenged.[8] There are, however, a few difficulties with focusing exclusively on the funerary inscriptions. First, of course, there is the fact that the Athenian center has been far more systematically excavated than the Attic countryside, rendering any results gained from a single category of analysis incomplete at best. Second, many of these prior studies have not removed the funerary inscriptions from locations like the Kerameikos from consideration in their

7 For example, Humphreys 1980; Damsgaard-Madsen 1988; Nielsen et al. 1989; Osborne 1991; Étienne and Muller 2007. On the difficulty of determining whether rural buildings were used for residential purposes, see Osborne 1985a.

8 There are over 10,000 funerary inscriptions in the corpus; see Meyer 1993, 99.

final analyses; nevertheless, it seems clear that people who were not necessarily resident in the vicinity of the Kerameikos chose for other reasons to have their memorials erected or their remains interred in this large, public cemetery.[9]

In addition to the funerary inscriptions, which, if used with due caution, can indeed provide the type of information we seek, there are numerous other categories of inscriptional evidence which have not previously been systematically exploited with regard to questions of migration and property ownership.[10] The inclusion of this evidence not only provides a more complete picture of migration in Attica, it also helps to mitigate the overrepresentation of inscriptions discovered within the boundaries of the *astu*.[11] So, for example, the *pôlêtai* records, and records of leases and mortgages can give us some insight into mobility in Attica.[12] Similarly, the naval records can provide important information as to the place of residence of metics in the countryside. Decrees from individual demes can be used to indicate degrees of political or liturgical participation in those localities, some of which must have necessitated residence in that location for at least a significant portion of a given year.

9 It should be noted that Osborne's 1991 study used Kerameis as one of his three selected demes, for which the Kerameikos also functioned as the local deme cemetery. Meyer 1993, 119 notes: 'But it also follows that since the *demosion sema* in particular, and the Kerameikos in general, was an area conspicuously devoted to the public commemoration of those who had served the *polis* of Athens, Athenians who erected individual monuments in and among the larger public monuments could be asserting a similarly close relationship to Athens even if unable to claim the same service as those in the public tombs'. See also Taylor 2007, 85–86 on issues associated with over-interpretation of funerary evidence.

10 I previewed the methodology exploited here in my previous work on Akharnai. The results achieved for that deme have been updated and incorporated into this study. See Kellogg 2013, 51–71.

11 For example, in the demes under consideration in this piece, evidence from the funerary inscriptions alone for the deme of Aixone breaks down in the following manner: 14.2% buried in the ancestral deme, 17.2% of the funerary monuments come from Athens outside the Kerameikos, 11.4% from the Kerameikos itself, 18.6% from other parts of Athenian territory, and 38.6% from the Peiraieus. This might lead us to conclude that relatively few Aixoneans remained in or near the ancestral deme. Including the evidence from all other inscriptional categories, however, causes the numbers to change significantly: 44% in the ancestral deme, 10.2% in Athens, 23.7% in Peiraieus, and 22% in other areas of Athenian territory. See also Fig. 13.1, below.

12 On these inscriptions, see, amongst many others, Finley 1985 and Lalonde, Langdon, and Walbank 1991.

Moreover, the focus of this investigation is centered not upon the simple fact of property ownership or leasing in Attica. It is abundantly clear that it was possible to own or lease properties which were exploited in various senses but which show no evidence of long-term or repeated residence by their owners or lessees, such as the various sacred properties leased throughout Attica. Therefore, whenever possible we will be using evidence not only providing the information that a given individual leased or owned a particular property, but also indicating that the person in question can be reasonably assumed to have been resident in that area for at least a portion of a given year or time period.

As this study is ongoing, it seems most worthwhile to consider here a subset of the evidence, examining the preliminary results from five extra-urban demes of Attica: Akharnai, Aixone, Myrrhinous, Rhamnous, and Sounion.[13] I have opted to present a synoptic picture of the evidence here: a snapshot of overall patterns of mobility and migration in the Athenian territories, from ca. 500 BCE to the first half of the first century BCE.[14] In attempting to reconstruct the migration patterns of those citizens affiliated with each of the five selected demes, it immediately becomes clear that the inextricable link between the physical and the conceptual landscapes of Attica resulted in patterns of immigration and emigration which are widely divergent in the various locales. This, in turn, allows us to investigate the factors which seem to have most markedly influenced the decision-making that resulted in those patterns.

13 On Akharnai, see Platonos-Giota 2004 and Kellogg 2013; Aixone: Giannopoulou-Konsolaki 1990; Myyrhinous: Vivliodetis 2005; Rhamnous: Petrakos 1999; Sounion: Goette 2000 and Salliora-Oikonomakou 2004.

14 It should be noted that the evidence indicates that patterns of migration did change between different historical periods. However, space constraints, the ongoing nature of this research, and the focus of this particular volume have all led me to the decision to present a more synoptic picture here. I intend to include both diachronic and synchronic analysis in the final project, however. In addition, for some periods, the number of individuals for whom I am able to extract the relevant information is quite small, leading me to question the statistical relevance of the results. This is in large part due to the varying number of inscriptions from different eras in ancient Athenian history and the focus here on rural Attica rather than urban Athens, factors which are very familiar to all students of Attic epigraphy. In particular the results from the very early period (first half of the fifth century BCE) and the later periods (such as the Roman imperial period) are affected by these considerations. For this reason, although I do hope to include the evidence from the Roman imperial period in my final study, I have opted to leave it out here; the results from the early fifth century, such as they are, can at this point be comfortably considered under the chronological heading of 'the classical period', although it may prove profitable in the end to break the figures down by centuries rather than eras.

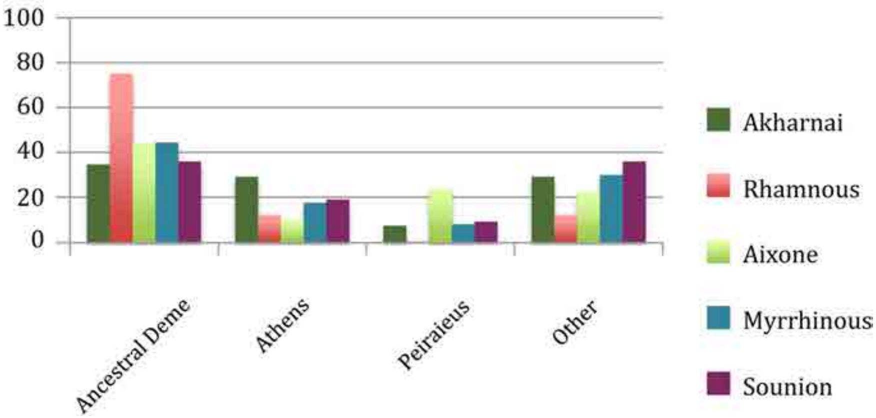


FIGURE 13.1 *Relative comparison (percentage) of place of residence (x-axis) in Akharnai, Aixone, Myrrhinous, Rhamnous, and Sounion. Total number of individuals in master databases: 2,727.*
AKHARNAI: 794; AIXONE: 313; MYRRHINOUS: 323; RHAMNOUS: 902; SOUNION: 395

## 3 Migration in Rural Attica: The Statistical Evidence

The literary and epigraphic records for Akharnai, Aixone, Myrrhinous, Rhamnous, and Sounion demonstrate that each of these five demes presents a unique pattern of personal mobility and property ownership. Those testimonia that contain information about migration and residence have been analyzed and divided into four regional categories: individuals who remained, at least part-time, in the ancestral deme; those who migrated to Athens;[15] those who migrated to Peiraieus; and those who chose to reside, either full- or part-time, in other areas of the Athenian territories, which includes not only other demes in rural Attica but also overseas possessions such as Imbros, Lemnos, Skyros, and Salamis.[16] Not only are the statistical patterns in each of these demes unique, they are in fact widely divergent, indicating that the factors influencing mobility in each locale, and the reactions of the local populace to such factors, were also very different (Fig. 13.1).

15 In considering the evidence for migration to Athens, I have removed those funerary inscriptions found in or near the Kerameikos from consideration due to the methodological concerns involved with commemoration in that cemetery.

16 It is true that this category is quite broad, and it may prove ultimately to be more useful to re-categorize this evidence into two subgroups, one for Attica and one for overseas territories.

The work of previous scholars on this topic, considering the provenance of funerary inscriptions, has led to the conclusion that proximity to the *astu* and the presence of either strong local economies or prominent cultic activity significantly impacted population movements. The closer to Athens a deme was located, the more likely it was to have a high percentage of its demesmen resident in or near the *astu*, while a strong local economic base or a religious cult with a high profile would influence people to remain resident in or around their ancestral deme.[17] The results from Rhamnous fit this model perfectly: the exceptionally high percentage of Rhamnousians (nearly 75%) who show evidence of at least part-time residence in their ancestral deme represents the high pan-Attic profile of Rhamnous and the prestige associated with the sanctuary and festival of Nemesis, as well as the economic benefits of Rhamnous' location and the presence of an Athenian garrison in the deme. This tendency towards residence in the area would only be reinforced by the long distance between the deme and the *astu*. Indeed, the results seem to indicate that for the *dêmotai* of Rhamnous, the attachment to the ancestral deme predicted by our literary sources overcame nearly all other inducements to migration.

Similarly, the statistical profile for both Akharnai and Aixone can also be seen to reflect these factors in some respects. In both these locations we might expect a certain amount of balancing between the competing sets of factors which would promote either remaining in the ancestral deme or migrating to the urban center. For Akharnai, 34.5% of its *dêmotai* retained at least part-time residence in the ancestral deme, while 29% show evidence of residence in the *astu*; for Aixone, those figures are at 44% and 10%, respectively. In the case of Akharnai this pattern can be seen to reflect not only the relative proximity between Akharnai and Athens, as well as the ease of travel between the two locales on one of the major roads of Attica (which would promote mobility to the *astu*), but also the relative wealth of Akharnai and the strength of the local economy, dominated by agricultural production and famous for the charcoal industry. Aixone, on the other hand, is roughly the same distance from the *astu* as Akharnai, but does not seem to experience the attraction to Athens that Akharnai's population shows. Here, however, Aixone's coastal location may have played a role; there is a much stronger attraction towards residence in the Peiraieus (23.7%) amongst the demesmen of Aixone than is displayed by Akharnai's *dêmotai* (7.5%). At the same time, the intensive exploitation

17 See, for example, Humphreys 1980; Damsgaard-Madsen 1988; Nielsen et al 1989; Osborne 1991.

of Aixone's available agricultural land and the fishing industry of the deme, known in antiquity for the popular red mullet fish, can be seen to explain the decision-making of the 44% of demesmen who chose to maintain residence there.

Myrrhinous, as well, shows a similar profile, in that just over 44% of its demesmen apparently chose to remain in or near the deme; the agricultural wealth of the deme seems to have played a role here. However, only 25.7% of the *dêmotai* of Myrrhinous show evidence of residence in either the *astu* or Peiraieus, perhaps reflecting the position of Myrrhinous in the Attic landscape. The deme was cut off from direct access either to Athens or to Peiraieus by the topography of the peninsula; the demesmen would have to skirt the slopes of Mount Hymettus either to the north or to the south to travel to either of the urban locales.

Given the factors adduced above with respect to population movements in Attica, we might reasonably expect Sounion to have a statistical profile similar to the one from Rhamnous. After all, both demes were located on the outer fringes of the Attic peninsula, far from the *astu*; in addition, both housed Athenian garrisons and contained religious sanctuaries that were of importance not only locally, but on the *polis* level. On the surface, however, the migration profile of Sounion does not appear to reflect these influences in the same way as we saw amongst the Rhamnousians; only 35.8% of *Sounieis* can be demonstrated to have resided in their affiliated deme.

The statistics, however, do not tell the whole story. Given that one of the regional categories into which migration is being divided is marked 'Other', it is worth considering just what locations might fall under this rubric. For Sounion, there is a decided skew towards demes located in the southeastern portion of Attica; in fact, fully one-third of the locations that fall under the heading 'Other' for Sounion in Fig. 13.1 are located in this region.[18] This decided tendency towards clustering in the portion of the Attic peninsula nearest to Sounion indicates that the factors influencing migration we have already considered may, in fact, have affected the *dêmotai* of Sounion in a fashion similar to Rhamnous; however, because the economic opportunities offered by the mines in the area are not geographically concentrated within the territory of Sounion alone—as was the case for the economic advantages offered by Rhamnous—the effect is not as pronounced. If we compensate for this by including the

18 The demes in question are: Aixone, Anaphlystos, Deiradiotai, Halai Araphenides (?), Paiania, Sphettos, and Thorikos. In addition, it seems likely that other inscriptions whose precise findspot was not accurately recorded but which deal with mining leases came from demes other than Sounion, but precision in these cases is impossible.

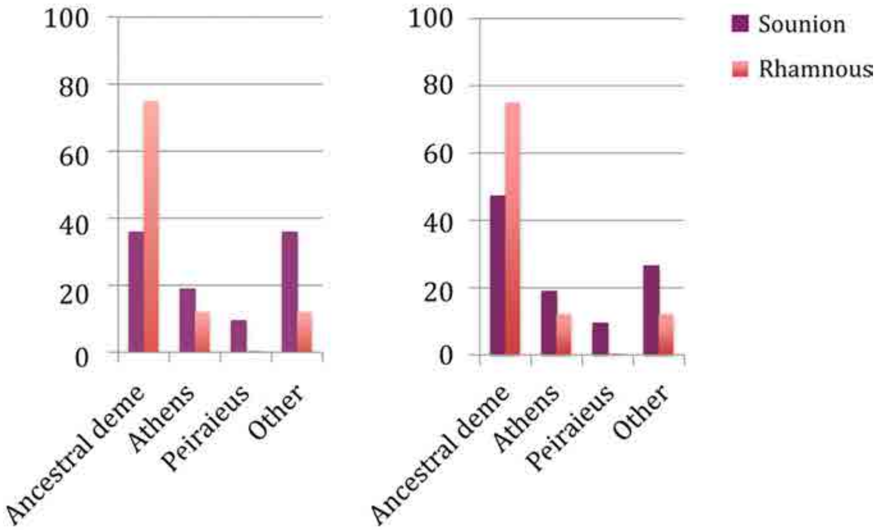


FIGURE 13.2 *Comparison of the migration statistics (percentages) from Sounion and Rhamnous. In Chart 1, the column labeled 'Ancestral Deme' includes only the data from Sounion (395* dêmotai *in the master prosopographical database) and Rhamnous (902). In Chart 2, the* Sounieis *resident in demes located close to Sounion have been removed from the 'Other' category and added to the 'Ancestral Deme' column.*

nearby demes in Sounion's category rather than in the 'Other' category, the pattern does begin to resemble that which we have come to expect from Rhamnous more closely (Fig. 13.2).

Despite this, however, the percentage of *Sounieis* resident at least part-time in or near the ancestral deme remains markedly lower than that of Rhamnous—just over 47 % to nearly 75 %. This difference indicates that the factors of local economy, distance from the *astu*, and religious observance cannot be the only issues affecting migration.

Some of the differences may be accounted for by nuancing what we mean by certain of these categories. Let us consider first what is meant by 'proximity to the *astu*'. An obvious incentive or deterrent to migration is how easily one is able to carry out such movement. If the local topography impedes ease of transportation from one location to another, either because of the landscape itself or because of a lack of road networks, people will be less inclined either to leave that area or, conversely, to move to that area. This, as we saw, seems to have influenced the migration decisions of the demesmen of Myrrhinous with respect to movement to the *astu* and Peiraieus; similarly, the choice of the Akharnians to move to the *astu*, while the Aixoneans seem to have exhibited a preference for Peiraieus, may reflect this factor.

Equally, the category of 'local economy' should be more closely examined. There are vast differences across Attica in soil composition and slope, which affected land use patterns, the distribution and type of agricultural and industrial activity, and the carrying capacity of various sub-regions. It does not seem sufficient, therefore, to point to the presence or absence of a strong local economic base when considering factors affecting mobility; we must also consider the *type* of economic activity in the area. Demes which occupied more fertile regions of Attica, and which were able to intensively exploit these agricultural resources, such as Akharnai, Aixone, and Myrrhinous, seem to have held a stronger attraction for their affiliated demesmen. Conversely, local land-use factors may have negatively impacted the *dêmotai* of Sounion, and contributed to the disparity seen between Sounion's statistical migration profile and that of Rhamnous.

## 4 Immigration versus Emigration: Microregional Tendencies and the Conceptual Landscape

In our discussion to this point, and in previous studies on this subject, nearly all of the attention has been focused on the role of various factors in the decision-making processes of individuals in a given location to make the choice to move elsewhere—what we might term emigration from the ancestral deme. These factors, however, are not universally focused outward, and as such can also be seen to have influenced people's inclinations to move *to* a given area. In order to fully consider the issue, therefore, it is necessary not only to consider the migration decisions of the residents of Akharnai, Aixone, Myrrhinous, Rhamnous, and Sounion, but also to examine the decisions of individuals from other locales to migrate to the demes in question.

The results of this investigation are instructive. Beginning with Rhamnous, as we did in the previous section, individuals from 13 different locations can be demonstrated to have been resident in Rhamnous.[19] These locales are situated in relatively disparate locales throughout Attica, although the Mesogeia and the mining district in the southeastern portion of the peninsula are conspicuously lacking. This distribution probably represents the presence of an Athenian garrison in the fort at Rhamnous, and perhaps also reflects the cultic and economic profile of the deme. Nevertheless, we can see evidence of a distinct

19 The locations in question are: Aphidna, Diomeia, Eitea, Hermos, Kholargos, Oinoe (Tribe IX Aiantis), Paiania, Pallene, Salamis, Teithras, Thorai, Thria, and Trikorynthos.

clustering effect in the far northeastern region of Attica, as 4 of the 13 locations (Aphidna, Eitea, Oinoe (Tribe IX Aiantis), and Trikorynthos) are located in this region. While simple proximity of location might explain some of this tendency, it seems probable that there is more to it than that; this clustering tendency is strongly inclined towards the region of the Marathonian Tetrapolis. It is well known that the Tetrapolis retained a strong sense of identity under—and in some senses in spite of—the Cleisthenic democratic organization, which separated Trikorynthos from the other demes and attached it to a trittys some distance further to the south.[20] While Rhamnous was not, of course, one of the demes involved in the organization of the Tetrapolis, we may perhaps see here the influence on people's migration decisions of a microregional social network, predicated upon a religious organization which predated the democracy. The attractions of Rhamnous, with its pan-Attic cult and Athenian garrison, as well as the distance from the *astu*, would only have served to exacerbate the tendency towards microregionality in this particular instance.

Similarly, Sounion's population of resident non-*dêmotai* may also be influenced by factors which predate the Cleisthenic organization in Attica. Sounion's data indicates that individuals associated with 23 outside demes were resident in the deme.[21] Again, the relatively high number of other demes represented in the data can probably be traced to the exploitation of the mines in the region as well as the presence of the Athenian garrison in Sounion, but once again there is a distinct clustering effect in the location of the demes involved. As before, the Mesogeia is almost completely absent from the distribution, and only Aphidna represents the northeastern portion of the peninsula; however, the majority of the demes involved are disproportionately concentrated in the southeastern portion of Attica. A good part of this is no doubt due to the preponderance of mining as an economic activity in the area. The demotics of the owners and lessees of the silver mines in the Laurion region indicate a local bias; clearly the men who were operating the mines took a regular and even personal interest in their exploitation and management.[22] This geographic clustering effect may have been intensified by local interests that predated the inception of the Athenian democracy. Anderson has argued that this area of Attica maintained a degree of independence from Athens for

20 Traill 1975, Map 1. On the famous sacrificial calendar of the Tetrapolis, see, for example, Lambert 2000.

21 Agryle, Aigilia, Aithalidai, Aixone, Alopeke, Anagyrous, Anaphlystos, Aphidna, Erchia, Euonymon, Gargettos, Halai (Aixonides or Araphenides unspecified), Kephale, Kerameis, Kydantidai, Kytheros, Lamptrai, Paiania, Pallene, Pelekes, Pithos, Sphettos, and Thorai.

22 Cf. Osborne 1985b, 124; Christesen 2003, 46.

a longer period of time than some other regions, and in fact was not fully integrated with the *astu* until the inception of the Cleisthenic system at the end of the sixth century.[23] If he is correct, then the immigration patterns in Sounion may, once again, reflect the continued influence of a pre-democratic microregional tendency in migration decisions in this portion of Attica.

## 5 Immigration versus Emigration: The Effects of Topography and the Built Environment

Immigration to Akharnai also indicates a wide degree of distribution across the Attic peninsula, comprising 15 different demes.[24] The microregional clustering tendencies apparent in the distributions of Rhamnous and Sounion, however, are not perceptible here. On the face of it, this may be perplexing; Akharnai played an important role in several regional cults and organizations, including the League of Athena Pallenis and the Heptaphylai branch of the *genos* of the Salaminioi. Yet, Akharnai's pattern of immigration lacks any clustering tendency towards the other demes known to have been involved in these organizations. What is more, not only do we not see such a clustering tendency in the distribution, the other known member demes in the League of Athena Pallenis and the *genos* of the Salaminioi are, in fact, completely absent from the distribution.

The nature of these regional cults and organizations, however, was such that the microregional tendencies displayed in Sounion and Rhamnous would not be in play here. Whereas the Salaminioi retained a strong sense of identity well into the fourth century and beyond, just as the Marathonian Tetrapolis did,[25] it is clear from the inscriptional evidence that the main locus of activity for the *genos* was in Koilê and Sounion, rather than Akharnai. Despite Akharnian participation, therefore, immigration to the deme would not be affected by the Salaminioi. The League of Athena Pallenis, on the other hand, was physically located in much closer proximity to Akharnai; all of the known member demes come from a relatively small region of the Mesogeia. On this basis, therefore, the absence of those other member demes from the migration patterns seems confusing. It is clear, however, from the law of Crates preserved in Athenaeus that

23 Anderson 2003, 24–34.

24 Aixone, Aphidna, Dekeleia, Eleusis, Eupyridai, Halimous, Leukonion, Marathon, Melite, Paiania, Pergase, Phlya, Potamos, Teithras, and Thorikos.

25 Cf. Ferguson 1938; Humphreys 1990; Osborne 1994; Taylor 1997; Lambert 1997; Lambert 1999.

although the League of Athena Pallenis was presumably of similar antiquity to the Marathonian Tetrapolis, it did not maintain a similar degree of vibrancy and identity under the Cleisthenic democracy.[26] By the late fifth century it appears that the Athenian *polis* found it necessary to intervene in the cult in a sort of rescue effort to revive its activities, and certainly by the Augustan period the League had fallen into abeyance, if the fact that Augustus was able to move the temple of Athena Pallenis from Pallene to the Agora and rededicate it to Mars Ultor is any indication.[27]

In fact, the absence of microregional clustering tendencies in Akharnai's distribution of demes involved in immigration may be precisely due to the region of Attica in which the deme was situated. Akharnai dominated a major crossroads location in the plain to the north of Athens; major roads from Eleusis, Athens, Deceleia, and other locations converged in the deme itself and in the area immediately surrounding it.[28] Although the road system of rural Attica has not been extensively mapped and documented, if we consider the pattern of immigration into Akharnai in light of what we do know about the roads in this region, it is striking that approximately two-thirds of the demes whose demesmen immigrated to Akharnai seem to have been located along or near these roads.[29]

Indeed, most of the migration patterns indicated by deme of origin in the locations under consideration show a strong inclination away from travel between demes that were separated or impeded in some way by Attic topography—the mountains of Attica being the obvious feature. The immigration

26 Ath. 6.234–235. See also Schlaifer 1943; Stanton 1984; and March 2008 on the evidence for the League of Athena Pallenis.

27 Goette 1997, 116–131; Goette 1992–1998, 105–118; Korres 1992–1998, 83–104; Platonos-Giota 1997, 92–97; Camp 2001, 116–117.

28 The strategic importance of the deme site can be partially discerned from the considerations that induced Archidamus to target it during the first invasion of the Peloponnesian War; see Thuc. 2.19.1–22.1.

29 The exceptions are Teithras, Potamos, Thorikos, Aixone, and Halimous. See Ober 1985, 110 for a map illustrating many of these roads. Although large areas of the road system of Attica remain unmapped, more recent research has brought to light many more sections of the roads of rural Attica. See Korres 2009 and Fachard and Pirisino 2015. My thanks to Sylvian Fachard for sharing with me some of his ongoing research into the road networks of rural Attica during my recent time in Athens; his research seems to confirm the importance of ease of travel and of the roads in general for migration decisions in ancient Athens. Undoubtedly ease of travel by sea will prove equally important in determining patterns of migration to some of the demes in coastal locations; in particular it seems that locales such as Eleusis and Phaleron would be markedly affected by migration via sea travel.

pattern of Akharnai was evidently influenced by ease of travel between different locales, and those of Aixone and Myrrhinous show a similar tendency. In Myrrhinous, only three outside demes are represented amongst its population of citizen non-*dêmotai*: Hagnous, Angelê, and Rhamnous. Hagnous and Angelê are demes which are immediately adjacent to Myrrhinous, so their proximity no doubt played a role. Rhamnous, however, is a significant distance away, and given the apparent local focus of Myrrhinous' immigration distribution, is certainly an outlier in the pattern.

Aixone also demonstrates a pattern of immigration which is not precisely intuitive. Once again, the number of demes involved is small, and the focus seems to be somewhat local: only two demes, those of Bêsa and Sounion, further to the southeast in the Attic peninsula, appear. They do not have the benefit of immediate proximity, as do the demes in Myrrhinous' pattern, and no immediate conceptual link, such as a religious cult or other network, comes to mind to explain the connection between the demes.

In both cases, however, there is a strong case to be made for links between these demes that are tied to lines of communication in the Attic peninsula. Archaeologists are increasingly combining GIS mapping with analytical frameworks such as Least Cost Analysis (LCA) in order to create models of social landscapes, in particular for the recreation of networks of interaction in ancient cultures. LCA 'assumes that humans will tend to economize many aspects of their behavior, encompassing everything from speech to movement … One area where this behavioral assumption can be seen is in how people interact with the landscape'.[30] LCA is not without its difficulties—humans do not, for example, always display rational behaviors, and limiting costs, whether economically, socially, or otherwise, may not always be a main guiding principle—but LCA functions as

> a heuristic device for developing baseline models of patterned movement within a landscape that can be used as part of a comparative framework to further explore complex archaeological questions. The utility of the LCA approach is that it allows archaeologists to formulate hypothetical networks of travel and interaction for cultures long past. In other words, LCA is a means of reconstructing extinct connections between peoples and places, connections that are at the heart of many complex social,

30 Surface-Evans and White 2012, 2. See also Herzog's 2014 work on the potential methodological pitfalls associated with LCA, and Conolly and Lake 2006 on LCA in archaeological applications more generally; Fachard and Pirisino 2015 discuss the use of GIS and LCA with regards to the road network of Attica.

> political, and economic questions of interest to archaeologists. The connections themselves might have physical expression in the form of prehistoric roads or trails, which may or may not still exist. Alternatively, they can also be entirely symbolic in nature, such as ideological connections.[31]

The application of LCA and GIS mapping to the Attic peninsula may provide the missing link between the demes involved in the immigration patterns of Myrrhinous and Aixone.[32] LCA allows for the reconstruction of an extra-urban route between Rhamnous and Myrrhinous, which meets with other major roads within the boundaries of the deme. Similarly, the road running from Athens to Sounion along the coast may have followed a path from Aixone through Bêsa before finally reaching Sounion at the tip of Attica. If such a reconstruction holds up, this is a strong indication how the road network of Attica, influenced by the topography of the area, played a major role not only in facilitating travel throughout the peninsula as a whole but also in influencing people's patterns of migration.

## 6 Migration and the Athenian Sociopolitical System: Some Further Ramifications

Having investigated the interactions between the migration decisions of Athenians and the landscapes—physical and conceptual—of Attica, it remains to examine the possible implications of these decisions for the Athenian sociopolitical system. How, if at all, did personal mobility in the Athenian countryside impact participation in the Cleisthenic democratic organization? Conversely, did the demes, trittyes, and tribes of the Cleisthenic system provide the Athenian citizens at its core with a possible template for migration?

To begin with the question of migration and political participation, we must consider the question of the bouleutic quotas of the demes. This issue has been a notorious hornets' nest for scholars interested in the Athenian democracy. There is continual debate over the relationship of the bouleutic quota to the

31 Surface-Evans and White 2012, 2.

32 Erin Warford at the University of Buffalo is currently engaged in such a project with reference to reconstructing the routes of religious processions in rural Attica. She was kind enough to discuss some of her results with me; while currently still in progress, and therefore unpublished, they were presented at the Institute for European and Mediterranean Archaeology in October 2013. Some of this reconstruction is based upon her analysis as well as on more recent discussions with Sylvian Fachard about Attic roads.

population of a deme, and, by extension, to the population of Athens; furthermore, there is widespread disagreement over whether the attested quotas of the fourth century are the same as those assigned by Cleisthenes at the end of the sixth, or whether they have changed in the interim period where we have no attestation for the quotas.[33]

Claire Taylor has recently shown that there are significant changes in wealth distribution and political participation between the fifth and fourth centuries BCE. Specifically, her prosopographical study demonstrates that political participation was much more widespread in the fourth century than in the fifth, and that a far higher percentage of people from demes far away from Athens are active in government at the *polis* level. She notes that '[t]he most simple explanation for a change in the deme origins of politically active citizens would be migration, that citizens had moved to Athens after their ancestors had been allocated to a deme under Cleisthenes, perhaps in great numbers during the Peloponnesian War …'.[34] She goes on to note that

> wealthy citizens in particular could afford to maintain strong links with the city and their deme. Owning property in both places was probably common for the wealthy. The population of Attica was, in all likelihood, fairly mobile, but citizens also retained close contact with their deme (Demosthenes 57.10); being a representative on the *boulē*, for example, presumably required near permanent residence in the city for a year if the office was to be seriously performed (although see Demosthenes 22.35–37 or *Ath. Pol.* 30.6 for hints that this was not always the case), but it also promoted personal links with the deme, and provided a connection between the political life of the city and that of the demes.[35]

While the demographic work of Taylor and others raises many interesting and significant points regarding political participation and sociological change in

33 This is not the place to wade into that thorny problem in detail. However, in the absence of other evidence, and given the fact that all known changes in the bouleutic quotas were connected to alterations in the tribal structure of the Cleisthenic system, it seems best to assume that the quotas remained unchanged until the first tribal reapportionment in 307–306 BCE. In turn this means that by this point it is quite probable that the quotas were often entirely out of alignment with the actual population living in a deme (given the sorts of migration patterns seen here), although no demes seem to have had systemic issues with filling their allotted number of seats in the *boulê*.

34 Taylor 2007, 85.

35 Taylor 2007, 86.

Athenian life over time which should be considered,[36] what remains to be explained is that there seems to be a surprising lack of concurrence between those citizens who were politically active at the deme level (and thus presumably resident there for at least the duration of their political activities in that locale), and those who participated in the political system in the *astu* itself, at the level of the *polis*. Indeed, this surprising fact was noted by Whitehead in his seminal work on the demes:

> The likelihood that what currently appears as an almost negligible degree of overlap between those recorded as active at deme level and at city level will increase as further prosopographical data accrue has been conceded above. Certainly it would be far too schematic (and too tempting of fate) to assert that the two groups were mutually exclusive of each other. Yet, for all that, one's impression is that most of those Athenians whom family tradition and/or personal inclination persuaded to devote a significant amount of time and effort to public affairs had to decide—for purely practical purposes—whether to do this primarily (or even entirely) in the microcosm of their own demes, or primarily (or even entirely) at the seat of real power and influence, the city of Athens itself.[37]

While Whitehead was undoubtedly correct in his belief that additions to our prosopographical knowledge of ancient Athens would add examples to the very brief catalogue of individuals known to have been politically active in more than one geographical sphere, in point of fact in the nearly thirty years since the publication of his work the picture has not markedly changed, despite new knowledge of vast numbers of Athenians, particularly from rural demes. Vagaries of preservation may account for some of this lack of concurrence, but in the data under consideration here there are *no* individuals who can be definitively demonstrated to have been politically active in both the home deme and in the city. Similarly, in this data set there are only three examples of families who can be unequivocally demonstrated to have participated in the political system in both the ancestral deme and in Athens: one example from

36 In addition to Taylor 2007, see also Akrigg 2007 and 2011, and Taylor 2011.

37 Whitehead 1986, 325. He goes on to note (326) two individuals who are known to have participated both locally and at *polis* level, Moerocles of Eleusis and Astyphilus of Halai Aixonides, but the fact that he only names two examples out of the vast number of individuals known to have been active in all levels of Athenian politics simply underlines the rarity of this occurrence. See also Osborne 1985b, 83–87, where this same phenomenon is discussed.

Akharnai, and two from Aixone. In all three cases, the participation is spread over several individuals and generations. The family of Hieron of Akharnai can be traced over three generations, and various individuals can be shown to have resided for at least some time in the ancestral deme, in Peiraieus, and possibly also in the *astu* over the course of two or perhaps three generations. During this time they act as trierarchs, participate in the ephebic training system, forge marriage alliances with important families from other demes, and involve themselves in significant religious cults such as that of Artemis at Brauron.[38] In the first of the two examples from Aixone, the eponymous archon of 326–325 BCE, Chremes of Aixone, seems to have had at least two sons; we find both sons proposing decrees in the ancestral deme between 326–325 and 317–316 BCE.[39] It may be that the activity of the sons in the deme *agora* was a way for them to metaphorically cut their political teeth before moving on to involvement at the *polis* level,[40] but this cannot be proven: no details are known of any later political careers either of them may have had. Similarly, Theodotus of Aixone acted as curator of the dockyards at Peiraieus in 362–361 BCE; his homonymous grandson was honored by the deme (presumably for liturgical services or other benefactions, but possibly for political services) in 320–319 BCE.[41] This grandson is otherwise unattested in public life.

The fact that no single individual in the data set considered here can be definitively proven to have been politically active in more than one location (and thus presumably resident in both of those locations for some amount of time) indicates that migration—even impermanent migration—does not account for the whole picture. Taylor herself notes, '[m]igration, though significant, cannot be the only explanation for the pattern of political participation which appears in the fourth century'.[42]

The obvious implication is that the population estimates for the demes individually, and for the city of Athens as a whole, should be revisited. Given that many of the population estimates for ancient Athens are predicated, at least in part, on the bouleutic quotas of the various demes and assumptions about the level of political participation amongst adult male citizens, the fact that very few citizens seem to have had political careers in both the local sphere

38 *IG* II$^2$ 1523, 1524, 1952, 5809, 5810, 5822, 5823; Pritchett 1949, 237–278.

39 *IG* II$^2$ 1198, 1199, 1200; *PA* 15568; Develin 2003.

40 Or, alternatively, that their local participation was prompted somehow by their father's position in Athens, as suggested by Whitehead 1986, 326.

41 *IG* II$^2$ 1622 and 1199. For an example of honors in exchange for political activity, see *SEG* 43.26, from Akharnai.

42 Taylor 2007, 86.

and at the *polis* level indicates that there is a whole subsection of the Athenian population which has been inadequately counted by such methods.[43] This, in turn, suggests that Hansen is correct when he argues that the total number of citizens in the fourth century, after demographic decline had cut the citizen population nearly in half, was still at least 30,000—a figure that puts the citizen population in the fifth century much closer to 60,000 than to the 30,000 to 40,000 generally cited by most works on the subject.[44] The rural demes, therefore, would have had many more people available than the bare minimum necessary to fill their bouleutic representations each year, and scholars who have been working on the rural demes are, in fact, engaging with a group of individuals who only partially overlap with those politically active citizens in the *astu*. It may be beneficial, therefore, to begin thinking in terms of political and liturgical *classes*, rather than discussing the political and liturgical class of Athens.

Conversely, the patterns of immigration and emigration noted in the sections above bear little, if any, resemblance to the organizational structure of demes, trittyes, and tribes created by Cleisthenes. Rather, the influences of the conceptual landscape seem to be more firmly in the social and religious spheres. In this way the migration habits of rural Athenians might be compared to the findings of scholars such as Cheryl Cox and Sally Humphreys on marriage dynamics in Athenian families, who have concluded that political considerations were often secondary to ties of friendship and alliance between families.[45] Instead, as seen above, the social landscape of Attica, combined with topographical considerations, seems to be a more significant force behind the choice of location to inhabit. The clustering tendencies seen in the immigration profiles of Sounion and Rhamnous may have been due, in part, to the continuing influence of organizations and realities which predated the demotic and tribal affiliations of the democracy, ironically the very thing which allows us to track such movement in the first place. As it is commonly, though not universally, asserted that one of the overarching motivations behind Cleisthenes'

43 To be transparent, the numbers produced by applying demographic models (such as Coale and Demeny 1966) to the bouleutic quotas are often noted as minimums, not maximums. However, the population figures thus reached are then often cited by others or used in different ways without similar acknowledgement.

44 I have argued this point before with reference to the population of Akharnai; see Kellogg 2013, 44–50. See also Hansen 1988, 14–28. For a list of the major scholarly positions regarding the population of Attica in the fifth and fourth centuries, see Kellogg 2013, 36–37, nn. 2 and 3.

45 Cf. Cox 1998; Humphreys 1977–1978.

scheme for dividing the demes into their trittyes and phylai was the desire to weaken these regional affiliations, one may wonder to what extent this was actually accomplished at anything more than a surface political level.

It is clear, therefore, that the personal migration decisions of Athenians not only had a major impact on their political role—if any—in the Cleisthenic democracy, but that the result of such decisions had major ramifications for the study of Athenian demography as a whole. It is equally clear, however, that the structure of the Cleisthenic democracy played a much lesser role in the migration decisions of its participants.

## 7 Conclusions

With the inception of the democracy at the end of the sixth century, what it meant to be an Athenian acquired a fundamental insistence on geographic origin and affiliation; one's citizenship and indeed Athenian-ness was fundamentally tied to the land itself, a conceptual nod to the autochthony of the Athenian *imaginaire*. In this way, the demes concretized the importance of location and created a sort of geographic unity for Attica. This institutionalization of location as a component of citizen identity makes an understanding of the landscape of Attica—in all its possible permutations—of the utmost importance for students of the ancient world.

A study of the migration decisions of individuals in the territories of ancient Athens demonstrates that territoriality and mobility are intricately linked to one another, and that the mutability of political and social realities could have a great deal of impact even in areas that have hitherto been largely considered *agros* or *eskhatia*.[46] It is increasingly clear that Attica beyond Athens was a dynamic and complex entity, politically unified under the overarching authority of the central Athenian state, but also existing in a more localized climate of microregions—physically, spatially, and socially.

Ultimately, this project in the long term seeks to problematize the picture of migration in ancient Athens. Indeed, in the course of doing so, it may result in more questions than answers. As Osborne notes, '[t]he history of human settlement at any given location is going to be horribly complex and finally irrecoverable'.[47] The preliminary results delineated here, however, provide some indications of lines of future inquiry that can help us to understand the interac-

46 On this subject generally, see Rosen and Sluiter 2006.

47 Osborne 1991, 250.

tion between the Athenians and their physical environment, those interactions which ultimately resulted in the landscape of Athens itself.[48]

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CHAPTER 14

# Songs of Homecoming: Sites of Victories and Celebrations in Pindar's Victory Odes

*Maša Ćulumović*

## 1 Introduction

The extant corpus of Pindar's victory odes traverses vast expanses of space—from the pillars of Hercules at Gibraltar to the Black Sea, from the mythical northern land of the Hyperboreans to the southern sources of the Nile, and, along a different vector, from the heights of heavenly Mt. Olympus to the deepest reaches of the underworld. However, the two most important geographical locations in every Pindaric ode are, without a doubt, the site of the victory and the athlete's hometown. The two locations were integral elements in the proclamation of a victory and in the process at large that bestowed glory upon an athlete.[1] The inclusion of these two locations in ancient epinicians has thus usually been viewed primarily as one of the required elements in the poet's encomiastic program.[2] However, while there is no doubt about the conventional nature of the epinician genre, convention alone does not fully account for the *repeated* references to the two locales in Pindaric odes, usually at the beginning and the end of the composition, and the persistent shifting of attention between the two. In this chapter I argue that victory odes

1 The location of the competition presumably did not have to be specified for the audiences already present there, but its importance is well illustrated in some of the inscriptions on statue bases dedicated at the sites of the victory. For examples, see Ebert 1972, esp. #20 for Ergoteles of Himera, for whom Pindar composed *Ol.* 12. Cf. also Paus. 6.1–18, esp. 6.9.9 and 6.12.7–8. For extensive discussion of athletic statue dedications and victory monuments, and their intersection with epinician poetry, see the contributions of Smith, Thomas, and Morgan in Hornblower and Morgan 2007, 83–139; 141–166; 213–263.

2 Though in many ways anticipated by Schadewaldt 1928, it was Bundy 1962 who first developed systematically the framework of the 'thematic and motivational grammar' of the epinician program, which acquired many followers, some of whom attempted to further refine the classification of the conventional encomiastic elements. Hamilton 1974, 15, for example, considers the Naming Complex (victor, place of victory, name of the event, homeland, father, etc.) as one of the six major parts of an ode.

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employ numerous references to geographical sites of athletic victories and athletes' hometowns, as well as 'shorthand' descriptions of their respective local landscapes and topography, not merely to satisfy the established programmatic requirement of praise poetry, but—more importantly—to visualize, recreate, and locate the space of the victory within the athlete's hometown and vice versa. The two locations form the spatial axis around which all the other places mentioned in the songs are organized and to which they are centripetally drawn, while the constant shifting along the 'victory-hometown axis' itself creates an ambiguity that is an intentional strategy on the part of the poet designed precisely to blur the lines between the site of the victory and the site of the song's performance. This strategy opens up the athlete's single individual victory for co-optation by wider public spheres in space as well as in time.

The exceptional emphasis on the two locales reflects in part the traditional announcement by the herald at the games, which included the names of the winning athletes, their families and cities, as well as the events in which they competed.[3] While Pindar occasionally mentions the original announcement that was made at the site of the games,[4] more frequently he takes that task directly upon himself. In *Nemean* 6 he describes himself as a messenger (ἄγγελος, 57b)[5] and in *Nemean* 4 as a herald (κάρυξ, 74)—a title even more evocative of athletic contests, since it was officially bestowed upon men who, after win-

3 Miller 2003, 11–12 and 2004, 121–122.

4 E.g., *Pyth.* 1.32–33: 'at the racecourse of the Pythian festival the herald shouted it (= Aetna) out in his announcement because of Hieron's splendid victory with the chariot' (Πυθιάδος δ' ἐν δρόμῳ κάρυξ ἀνέειπέ νιν ἀγγέλλων Ἱέρωνος ὑπὲρ καλλινίκου ἅρμασι). There is a lively scholarly debate (see Morgan 2015, chapter 8, esp. 346–358) about the historical circumstances of the proclamation in *Pyth.* 1, given that the Bacchylidean ode (4) for the same victory implies that the announcement was of Syracuse rather than Aetna, but for the present purposes the *representation* of the actual announcement is more interesting, as it demonstrably floats free as an *evocation* rather than precise recreation of the historical act. Cf. *Ol.* 13.98–100: 'my true witness under oath will be the noble herald's sweet-tongued shout' (ἀλαθὴς τέ μοι ἔξορκος ἐπέσσεται … ἁδύγλωσσος βοὰ κάρυκος ἐσλοῦ) and *Isthm.* 2.23–26. In this context, one might also take into account the 'ventriloquism' of the shout of the Olympic crowd in Bacchyl. 3.10–15.

5 For the poem as an announcement (ἀγγελία), see *Ol.* 9.23–25, *Pyth.* 2.3–4, *Nem.* 5.2–3. Nash 1990 provides an in-depth analysis of ἀγγελία in Pindar, which is beyond the scope of this chapter. At *Ol.* 6.90 Aeneas, whom the scholia identify as the trainer of the chorus, is called a 'straight messenger' (ἄγγελος ὀρθός) by Pindar, as he urges him on to take over the leading of the chorus. On this and other passages in which Pindar literally or metaphorically relinquishes his role as chorus leader, see Mullen 1982, 34.

ning their own contests in heraldry, would go on to serve as public announcers during the rest of the competitions.[6] A particularly striking example of an opening that closely echoes a herald's announcement is found in *Pythian* 9.1–4:[7]

> I wish, in announcing with the help of deeply-girdled
> Graces Telesicrates, a blissful man,
> as a bronze-shielded Pythian victor,
> to proclaim a crowning glory for horse-driving Cyrene.

> Ἐθέλω χαλκάσπιδα Πυθιονίκαν
> σὺν βαθυζώνοισιν ἀγγέλλων
> Τελεσικράτη Χαρίτεσσι γεγωνεῖν
> ὄλβιον ἄνδρα διωξίππου στεφάνωμα Κυράνας.

The importance and the interconnection of the location of the victory and the victor's hometown are obvious in this example on both the structural and the functional level. The two nouns naming the places (victor at Pytho, 1 and Cyrene, 4) occupy final emphatic positions in their respective metric constructions, and between them enclose two verbs of proclamation (ἀγγέλλων, 2; γεγωνεῖν, 3), each loosely associated with the place-name closest to it. Their strict direct object, however, is the athlete himself, Telesicrates, named in the center of the section, in the emphatic line-initial position: it is *he* who is announced *as* the Pythian victor and *he* who is proclaimed *as* the crowning glory of Cyrene. He is the link between the two locations and, as such, provides the opportunity for Pindar to masterfully blend the original announcement at Pytho with the present one in Cyrene, by joining the two in the *hic et nunc* of the epinician celebration.[8]

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6 Miller 2004, 84–85. Cf. also *Dithyramb* 2.23–25 where Pindar refers to himself as the 'herald (κάρυξ) of the Muse'.

7 Unless otherwise noted, all the quoted Greek texts follow the edition of Snell and Maehler (1987). The translations are my own.

8 Although these opening lines do not explicitly identify the performance site, the deictic expression 'this city here' (πόλιν τάνδ') later in the ode (*Pyth.* 9.91) makes it clear that the performance is envisaged as taking place in Cyrene. Cf. Felson 2004c, 384: 'Throughout the Pindaric epinician corpus, deictic ὅδε, when it designates a place, always points to the site before the eyes of the interlocutors,' and n. 44: '[W]ithin the epinician frame story, ὅδε with cities or lands refers to the victor's homeland'. Her deictic analysis, on the whole, however, also takes into consideration potential other (re)performances.

*Isthmian* 3.11–13, on the other hand, provides a rare image of the victor himself, Melissus of Thebes, making the official announcement;[9] two victories fell to Melissus' lot,

> ... one, when in the glens of Isthmus
> he received garlands, and then, when he proclaimed Thebe
> in the hollow valley of the deep-chested lion
> by winning in the chariot race.

> ... ἐν βάσσαισιν Ἰσθμοῦ
> δεξαμένῳ στεφάνους, τὰ δὲ κοίλᾳ λέοντος
> ἐν βαθυστέρνου νάπᾳ κάρυξε Θήβαν
> ἱπποδρομίᾳ κρατέων.

Again, the two place names are in an emphatic metrical position (Isthmus, 11 and Thebe—the eponymous nymph of Thebes, 12). The announcement is clearly metaphorical: it is embodied by Melissus' victory in the chariot race, but it is a device that allows Pindar to effectively recreate in his own song the proclamation, associating the location of the victory with the athlete's hometown. The transference between the agents of the announcement (from herald to Melissus) and its subjects (from Melissus to Thebes) is telling, because it effectively equates the athlete with his hometown (or rather, its eponymous nymph, Thebe).

In different ways both passages discussed above emulate and re-enact the original victory proclamations. The effects of the strategy are twofold: by evoking and imitating the immediate post-competition moments, the songs recreate the atmosphere of victory for the athlete and his family members, but more importantly, also for his townsmen and fellow citizens who may not have followed the athlete on his voyage to and from the competition, but are now gathered ready to celebrate his accomplishment; secondly, the embedding of the victory announcement within the odes, with their more expansive and elaborate means of praise, imbues those originally fleeting moments with more weight and permanence. Not all the epinicians make explicit references to literal or metaphorical heralds and announcements, but in every Pindaric ode one can find an unmistakable moment which, with the voice of authority,

9 The only other instance of a victor acting as herald is found in *Ol.* 5, discussed in the following section. Official heralds announcing victorious athletes in the contests are mentioned at *Ol.* 13.100, *Pyth.* 1.32, and *Isthm.* 2.23. At *Isthm.* 4.25 the clan's ancient reputation is said 'to have heralded' (καρύξαισα) their previous victories.

clearly evokes an official proclamation.[10] Pindar's artistry comes to light in the unique variations of individual expressions, but the declaration of victory, in which the site of the games and the athlete's hometown are essential components, is a virtual *sine qua non* of almost every epinician.[11]

Beyond this mere fact, however, one may notice many nuances in Pindar's manipulation of the two locations, in terms of their placement within the ode, the number and manner of their mentions (by proper names or paraphrased in terms of certain landscape markers), and the kinds of transitions he makes between the two. All of these elements merit closer attention because cumulatively they reveal a more complex picture of the function and the importance of the two locales than has previously been noticed. A good starting point for this exploration is *Olympian* 5, one of the shortest odes in the Pindaric corpus, but one which in many ways encapsulates and exemplifies various means which Pindar employs in his exposition and poetic mapping of the 'victory-hometown axis.'[12] I will first provide a close reading of the ode, paying special attention to the references to Olympia and to the victor's city of Camarina, as well as the transitions between the two (section 2), and then proceed to discuss four aspects of the victory-hometown axis: the 'geography of space' (section 3), metaphors of movement (section 4), 'pointing' as a spatial guide (section 5), and local landscapes (section 6). Section 7 provides the conclusion.

## 2 An Introductory Example: *Olympian* 5[13]

Daughter of Ocean, with a cheerful heart receive the sweet prime
of lofty accomplishments and garlands (won) at Olympia,
(which are) the gifts of tirelessly-running mule cart and of Psaumis,

10 Verbs of proclaiming, shouting out, making known, and other speech acts often evoke the original moment of the official announcement, while at the same time re-enacting it in the song's performance. See, e.g., *Ol.* 2.5–6, 3.9, *Pyth.* 9.1–4 (γεγωνέω); *Ol.* 3.38–39, 13.101–103, *Pyth.* 9.91 (φαμί); *Ol.* 8.20 (ἐξενέπω); *Pyth.* 9.73 (ἀναφαίνω); *Pyth.* 6.17–18, 9.1–4, *Nem.* 5.3 (ἀγγέλλω); *Pyth.* 10.8–9 (ἀνεῖπον); *Nem.* 2.16–18 (προλέγω); *Nem.* 6.58–59; *Isthm.* 1.34 (γαρύω); *Isthm.* 5.43 (προφέρω).

11 *Pyth.* 10.4–6 offers a very concise example, in its references to Pytho and Pelinna.

12 Moreover, the ode's lack of a mythical narrative—with all of its potential for further spatial expansions—will allow my focus to remain on the 'victory-hometown axis'. Cf. Kirkwood 1982, 111 on *Ol.* 11: 'This praise of the victor's homeland could be said to take the place, in its brief way, of the usual element of myth in the poetic structure'.

13 A heading in the Ambrosian MS states that the poem was attributed to Pindar in the commentary of Didymus, but was not among the poet's texts. This has caused much

who, in exalting your people-nourishing city, Camarina,
honored the six double altars at the greatest festival of gods
with sacrifices of bulls and in the five days of athletic contests,

with chariots, mules, and single-horse racing. After he won,
he dedicated his splendid glory to you, and proclaimed his father
Acron and the newly founded home.

Coming from the lovely abodes of Oenomaus and Pelops,
o city-protecting Pallas, he sings of your holy precinct,
the river Oanus and the nearby lake,

and the sacred canals, through which Hipparis waters the people,
and joins together quickly a towering grove of sturdy dwellings,
bringing this community of townspeople from helplessness to light.

Labor and expense always strive for achievements, towards a deed
hidden in danger; those who succeed
seem to be wise even in the eyes of the citizens.

Savior Zeus in the clouds on high, inhabiting the hill of Cronus
and honoring the wide-flowing Alpheius and the holy cave of Ida,
I come as your suppliant, sounding with Lydian pipes,

to ask you to adorn this city with famous deeds of manliness,
and (to ask) you, Olympic victor, who rejoices in Poseidon's horses,
to carry to the end a cheerful old age,

Psaumis, with your sons around you. If one fosters a sound prosperity,
satisfied with his possessions and adding to them
praise, let him not seek to become a god.

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speculation as to the composition's authorship and authenticity. On its exclusion from the Pindaric corpus, see Barrett 2007, 46–53 (first delivered orally in 1969) and Instone 1992; *contra* Hamilton 1972 and Mader 1990, 109–113. I agree with Race's 1997, I 92 brief statement: 'Although this information has occasioned much discussion of the poem's status, no compelling arguments for its exclusion from Pindar's works have been advanced'. In fact, by pointing out the elements of *Ol.* 5 that are exemplary of many other Pindaric passages, this chapter implicitly defends the composition's authenticity.

Ὑψηλᾶν ἀρετᾶν καὶ στεφάνων ἄωτον γλυκύν
τῶν Οὐλυμπίᾳ, Ὠκεανοῦ θύγατερ, καρδίᾳ γελανεῖ
ἀκαμαντόποδός τ' ἀπήνας δέκευ Ψαύμιός τε δῶρα·

ὃς τὰν σὰν πόλιν αὔξων, Καμάρινα, λαοτρόφον,
βωμοὺς ἓξ διδύμους ἐγέραρεν ἑορταῖς θεῶν μεγίσταις
ὑπὸ βουθυσίαις ἀέθλων τε πεμπαμέροις ἁμίλλαις,

ἵπποις ἡμιόνοις τε μοναμπυκίᾳ τε. τὶν δὲ κῦδος ἁβρόν
νικάσας ἀνέθηκε, καὶ ὃν πατέρ' Ἄ-
κρων' ἐκάρυξε καὶ τὰν νέοικον ἕδραν.

ἵκων δ' Οἰνομάου καὶ Πέλοπος παρ' εὐηράτων
σταθμῶν, ὦ πολιάοχε Παλλάς, ἀείδει μὲν ἄλσος ἁγνόν
τὸ τεὸν ποταμόν τε Ὤανον ἐγχωρίαν τε λίμναν

καὶ σεμνοὺς ὀχετούς, Ἵππαρις οἷσιν ἄρδει στρατόν,
κολλᾷ τε σταδίων θαλάμων ταχέως ὑψίγυιον ἄλσος,
ὑπ' ἀμαχανίας ἄγων ἐς φάος τόνδε δᾶμον ἀστῶν·

αἰεὶ δ' ἀμφ' ἀρεταῖσι πόνος δαπάνα τε μάρναται πρὸς ἔργον
κινδύνῳ κεκαλυμμένον· εὖ δὲ τυχόν-
τες σοφοὶ καὶ πολίταις ἔδοξαν ἔμμεν.

Σωτὴρ ὑψινεφὲς Ζεῦ, Κρόνιόν τε ναίων λόφον
τιμῶν τ' Ἀλφεὸν εὐρὺ ῥέοντα Ἰδαῖόν τε σεμνὸν ἄντρον,
ἱκέτας σέθεν ἔρχομαι Λυδίοις ἀπύων ἐν αὐλοῖς,

αἰτήσων πόλιν εὐανορίαισι τάνδε κλυταῖς
δαιδάλλειν, σέ τ', Ὀλυμπιόνικε, Ποσειδανίοισιν ἵπποις
ἐπιτερπόμενον φέρειν γῆρας·εὔθυμον ἐς τελευτάν

υἱῶν, Ψαῦμι, παρισταμένων. ὑγίεντα δ' εἴ τις ὄλβον ἄρδει,
ἐξαρκέων κτεάτεσσι καὶ εὐλογίαν
προστιθείς, μὴ ματεύσῃ θεὸς γενέσθαι.

*Olympian* 5 was composed in honor of the victory in a mule-cart race by Psaumis of Camarina, a city on the south shore of Sicily between Acragas and Syracuse. Each of its three triads is addressed to a different deity. In the first triad, the city's eponymous nymph Camarina, the daughter of Ocean (Ὠκεανοῦ

θύγατερ, 2 and Καμάρινα, 4), is asked to receive (δέκευ, 3) Psaumis, who exalted her people-nourishing city (τὰν σὰν πόλιν … λαοτρόφον, 4) at the Olympic games (Οὐλυμπίᾳ, 2 and paraphrased as ἑορταῖς θεῶν μεγίσταις, 5—the greatest festival of the gods). He did this by providing feasts of oxen sacrificed on the six double altars (βωμοὺς ἓξ διδύμους, 5) and by furnishing entries in the races with chariots, mules, and single horses during the five days of athletic contests (ἀέθλων πεμπαμέροις ἁμίλλαις, 6). In doing so, he has brought glory to his father Acron and the newly-built city (τὰν νέοικον ἕδραν, 8).[14] The epithet 'newly built' probably refers to the resettlement of Camarina in 461/460 BCE, in which Psaumis took part.[15] Another allusion to this event and Psaumis' potential involvement in it follows in the second triad. This one is addressed to city-protecting Athena (πολιάοχε Παλλάς, 10) of whose sanctuary (ἄλσος ἁγνόν, 10) Psaumis is imagined as singing upon his return from Olympia (from the lovely abodes of Oenomaus and Pelops, ἰκων δ' Οἰνομάου καὶ Πέλοπος παρ' εὐηράτων σταθμῶν, 9–10).[16] The reference to Athena's precinct starts off a series of local landmarks: the river Oanus (ποταμόν Ὤανον, 11), the nearby lake (ἐγχω-

14 Note the verb καρύσσω, which, as in *Isthm.* 3, attributes the act of the official announcement to the athlete himself. Day 2010, 198 ff. provides a useful discussion of the first eight lines of *Ol.* 5 in terms of verbal and pragmatic similarity between epinician and epigram. Although he approaches the same issues as discussed here from a different direction (that of dedicatory self-presentation), his emphasis on ritual is very suggestive.

15 The city, first founded by Syracuse in 598 BCE had a turbulent history, associated at different times with that of Syracuse and of Gela, but also with numerous attempts at independence from both of these 'mother' cities. It was first destroyed in about 553 BCE by the Syracusans, rebuilt by Hippocrates of Gela in 492 BCE, destroyed a second time by parties from Gela in 484 BCE (its citizens deported to Syracuse where Hippocrates' successor Gelon shifted his government), and again rebuilt by Gela after the fall of the Deinomenid tyrants (Hieron and Thrasybulus, after Gelon) in 461–460 BCE. Although all we know of Psaumis of Camarina comes from the mentions of his name in two Olympian odes (*Ol.* 4 and 5), it is reasonable to assume that he was a wealthy citizen who helped rebuild the city in the process of the latest resettlement. On Camarina's history, see Barrett 2007, 38–39 and Westermark and Jenkins 1980, 11–17. For the social and political circumstances of Camarina after the fall of the Deinomenids and the resettlement of 461–460, as well as Psaumis' status and aspirations in the new community, see the discussion in Nicholson 2011, 98–103 and 107–112.

16 A fifth-century BCE temple of Athena in Camarina is well known and has been excavated. For the floor plan, see Hollinshead 1999, 199. The temple was situated at the summit of the hill near the center of the city, but today only a handful of stones from its walls survive *in situ*. Most of the structure was used for the masonry of the nineteenth-century building, which now houses the Museo Archeologico Regionale di Camarina, so in an ironic twist of fate the Museum quite literally incorporates the temple remains.

ρίαν λίμναν, 11—according to scholia, this is lake Camarina, invoked in the opening triad in the form of the city's eponymous nymph), and finally the sacred canals of the river Hipparis, which provide water for the community and serve as a means of transporting building materials necessary for Camarina's frequent rebuilding efforts (σεμνοὺς ὀχετούς … τόνδε δᾶμον ἀστῶν, 12–14).[17]

At this point the composition has moved between references to Camarina and Olympia five times (from Olympia to Camarina, lines 1, 8, and 10; from Camarina to Olympia, lines 4–5 and 8–9).[18] However, the *origo* or the deictic center in the act of the song's utterance[19] has remained fixed in Camarina, as indicated by the verbs of motion 'to receive' (3) and 'to come' (9), anchored

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17 Commentators are divided on the identification of the subject of lines 13–14: 'he/it joins together quickly a towering grove of sturdy dwellings, bringing this community of townspeople from helplessness to light' (κολλᾷ τε σταδίων θαλάμων ταχέως ὑψίγυιον ἄλσος, ὑπ' ἀμαχανίας ἄγων ἐς φάος τόνδε δᾶμον ἀστῶν). Some prefer to take Psaumis as the subject of κολλᾷ (still felt from line 10, which envisages him singing of Athens' precinct), seeing in these lines Psaumis' direct involvement in improving the navigation of the river and the rebuilding of Camarina. Others take the river Hipparis from line 12 as the more immediate subject which metaphorically 'built the grove of sturdy dwellings' by enabling the builders to float down wood rapidly for the new houses. In either case, the reference is an effective way of combining the local landscape features with their function in the life of the city and (explicitly or implicitly) with Psaumis' own involvement within it.

18 Six times, if we account for line 3 between the two invocations of Camarina, which brings up the 'tirelessly-running mule cart' (ἀκαμαντόποδός ἀπήνας) of Psaumis, evoking in the performance the competitive moment at the hippodrome in Olympia.

19 For a comprehensive development of the parameters of the deictic ('pointing out', 'pointing at') field of language, see Bühler 1990, 93–168 and a useful summary in Felson 2004b, 253–260. In short, the deictic field of any language is characterized by the tripartite space-time-person orientation, where the 'here-now-I' reference forms the point of origin (*origo*) or deictic center. From that zero point of the subjective orientation all other coordinates are determined with respect to the speech act: second person, or addressee, and third person, a non-participant in the speech act, who may be present or absent. Each of the persons is also associated with the corresponding spatial coordinate. First-person deictics are proximal in that they refer to objects in the neighborhood of the speaker ('this by me'), while second-person deictics designate an addressee ('that by you') and tend to be less clearly localized (either proximal, or at some remove—distal). Third persons are not defined by position at all, but rather by non-participation in a speech act (and can, therefore, be either proximal or distal). Finally, there is a temporal deictic simultaneity, in that the interlocutors share a time frame ('now'), and verb tenses are defined relative to that temporal deictic center.

in the hometown to which the victorious individual is envisaged as returning and whose community is encouraged by the poet to welcome him with due celebration.[20] The direction of the spatial movement in both instances is unambiguously homewards and away from the site of the victory. The two enunciative moments are each followed by complementary sections in their respective triads: in the first, the exhortation to Camarina to receive Psaumis is followed by a description of Psaumis' past activities in Olympia (5–8, where the relative pronoun ὅς (4), referring to Psaumis, functions as a 'hinge' that enables the spatio-temporal shift), and in the second triad Psaumis' act of returning from Olympia is presented through a song about his hometown environs in the present (10–14). Although the song is metaphorically transferred to Psaumis' voice and persona, we are, of course, dealing with the present performance of the Pindaric composition, taking shape in the very act of being described.[21]

Following a gnomic sentiment about the importance of labor and expense (πόνος δαπάνα τε, 15) in all human endeavors—including, of course, athletics, but also, one might assume, Camarina's rebuilding—the last triad invokes the third deity of the ode, Zeus Soter. He is envisaged as localized primarily in Olympia, inhabiting the hill of Cronus,[22] and honoring the wide-flowing Alpheius and the holy cave of Ida (Κρόνιόν τε ναίων λόφον τιμῶν τ' Ἀλφεὸν εὐρὺ ῥέοντα Ἰδαῖόν τε σεμνὸν ἄντρον, 17–18).[23] The first-person epinician speaker interjects here with a self-reference for the first (and only) time in the song,

20 On the concept of 'deictic anchorage' and the phenomenon of 'locomotion' (persons or objects changing their location through time) triggered by deictic verbs of coming, going, etc., see Fillmore 1997, 27 ff. As Heath 1988, 180 notes, 'δέχεσθαι becomes almost a technical term in komastic literature'. At 1988, 189–192 he usefully collects other examples of the verb in the Pindaric corpus and discusses the 'reception motif' in that semantic context.

21 For similar contrivances of the song *as if* taking place elsewhere or *as if* about to take place imminently, see e.g., *Ol.* 2.1–2, *Pyth.* 1.1–4, *Nem.* 1.4–6; 3.1–5; 4.1–8; 9.3, *Isthm.* 3.7–8; 8.1–4. Miller 1993 provides a nuanced analysis of the Pindaric fictive spontaneity.

22 The hill of Cronus was located at Olympia in the district of Elis. For the hill of Cronus, see also *Ol.* 8.17, 9.3, 10.50; *Nem.* 6.61, 11.25. For Elis, see *Ol.* 1.78, 9.8; *Isthm.* 2.23–24.

23 The reference to the cave of Ida (18) has raised much speculation already in the antiquity. The scholia are divided on the issue, with some reporting a cave of Ida near Olympia and others suggesting that the reference here is to the great cave of Ida in Crete. I do not see a reason why the two should be mutually exclusive (if, indeed, there was a cave of Ida in Olympia). General geographical ubiquity always holds when divinities are invoked, even when one location (Olympia, in this case) is more in focus than others. Cf. *Pyth.* 1.39 where Apollo is located first in Lycia, then in Delos, and only then in Parnassus, the site of victory.

announcing his arrival: 'I come as your suppliant' (ἱκέτας σέθεν ἔρχομαι, 20).[24] The enunciative *ego* entreats Zeus to honor Camarina (πόλιν τάνδε, 20), and, in a parallel construction, addresses the Olympic victor himself ('Ολυμπιόνικε, 21). The double apostrophe thus combines distal (to Zeus in Olympia) with proximal (to Psaumis in Camarina) deixis, bringing the god and the man closer together, especially in light of the request 'to adorn this city with famous deeds of manliness' (πόλιν εὐανορίαισι τάνδε κλυταῖς δαιδάλλειν, 20–21), of which both Zeus and Psaumis can be seen as agents on the divine and human level respectively. This is, however, a dangerous path, and Pindar is quick to clear any potential confusion—the final words of the ode resound powerfully: εἴ τις ὄλβον ἄρδει … μὴ ματεύσῃ θεὸς γενέσθαι, 'if someone is prosperous, let him not seek to become a god'.[25]

## 3 Geography of Praise

### 3.1 Olympian *1*

Although the proper names of Olympia and Camarina occur only once in *Olympian* 5,[26] many paraphrases for both locations metonymically direct our attention to one place or the other. Olympia is evoked in the image of altars with sacrifices during the athletic festival, in the cultic reference to Pelops and Oenomaus, and in the landscape features that include the hill of Cronus, the river Alpheius, and the cave of Ida. Camarina, on the other hand, is pointed to in the invocation of its eponymous nymph and her 'people-nourishing city',

24 On the built-in polysemy or plurality of potential references inherent in the first-person epinician speaker, see discussion in Felson 2004c, 368–369. The observation in n. 9 that '*ego*-statements often elide the separate moments from composition to performance, conflating "we the performers" with "I the poet" and even "we the community"' helps to avoid the vexed attempts to assign a uniform referent to Pindaric *ego* across the epinician corpus as a whole.

25 Note the repetition of the verb ἄρδω ('to water, irrigate' and therefore 'to foster') used earlier (12) of the river Hipparis. On Pindar's metaphors of watering and vegetative growth to represent the immortalizing power of song, see Steiner 1986, 28–39 and Nagy 1990, 69 and 278 n. 21. On the transcendent nature of ὄλβος, as opposed to mere material possessions (κτεάτεσσι, 24), especially when coupled with praise received from song (εὐλογίαν, 24), see ibid. 276–285.

26 Twice in the case of Olympia, if we account for the apostrophe to the Olympic victor in line 21. However, I would argue that the adjective in this case notionally combines the two locations: on the semantic level, it looks back to the place of victory, but on the level of deixis, it addresses the victor in the *hic et nunc* of Camarina (πόλιν τάνδε, 20).

the 'newly founded home', and landmarks such as the precinct of Athena, lake Camarina, and the rivers Oanus and Hipparis. These thumb-nail sketches of the two regions are not all grouped in discrete sections; rather, they are so thoroughly interwoven in the fabric of the ode that the audience's attention would have continuously shifted from one to the other, from the imagined to the visible, from the physical sight to the mind's eye.[27] The constant transitions between the site of the victory and the victor's *polis* in *Olympian* 5 are by no means exceptional. About two thirds of Pindar's epinicians refer to the two focal locations several times,[28] usually by switching back and forth between the two, and, in an overwhelming number of cases, by doing so within the first 15–20 lines of the song.[29] A few striking examples will suffice to illuminate the point.

After the famous priamel, *Olympian* 1 sets the scene of the poetic performance (*Ol.* 1.7–24):

> and we will not proclaim a contest greater than Olympia,
> from where the famous hymn crowns
> the thoughts of wise men, so that they have come
> to sing of the son of Cronus,
> to the wealthy blessed hearth of Hieron,

27 Not even all the sites in Camarina would have necessarily been visible from the site of performance (river Oanus, for example, is some 6 miles away from the ancient city). I should mention here that I use the word 'audience' primarily to refer to anyone present at the premiere of the song, but also any subsequent audiences who might have experienced it in a reperformance, be it in the victor's native city, the site of his victory, or any other location.

28 Exceptions are the very short odes (*Ol.* 11, 12, 14; *Pyth.* 7, 12) and the relatively short ones (*Pyth.* 6 and *Nem.* 8, *Isthm.* 5 and 7). This is not surprising, although not all the short odes contain just one announcement. *Ol.* 5 is a case in point, as are *Ol.* 4, *Nem.* 2 and 11, and *Isthm.* 3. Other exceptions are associated with the circumstances of commission: *Pyth.* 1 (honorary citizenship), *Pyth.* 2 (probably composed as a more general encomium, since it mentions no place of victory), *Pyth.* 3 (Hieron's illness), *Pyth.* 4 (appeal for a citizen to return from exile), and possibly *Nem.* 7 (although the precise circumstances are unclear). *Ol.* 6 divides the 'homeland' references between Syracuse and the victor's native Stymphalus in Arcadia. Interestingly, *Nem.* 11, composed for the occasion of the *laudandus*' installation as councilor, though not a victory ode, follows precisely the epinician form discussed here.

29 Exceptions are *Ol.* 13 and *Pyth.* 5, which have somewhat longer opening sections effecting transitions between the site of the games and the victor's city. *Nem.* 10 for Argos is an interesting case, since the games took place at the athlete's hometown. Not surprisingly, Argos and its local landscape get a lot of attention throughout the ode.

who is in charge of the rightful scepter in flock-rich
Sicily, plucking the summits of all virtues,
and is also glorified
in the finest of songs,
such as we men often playfully perform
around a friendly table. But take
the Dorian lyre from its peg,
if the splendor of Pisa and Pherenicus has indeed
placed (your) mind under the sweetest of considerations,
when he sped by the Alpheius displaying
his ungoaded body in the race,
and joined his master to power,

the horseman king
of Syracuse. Glory shines for him
in the colony of Lydian Pelops.

μηδ᾽ Ὀλυμπίας ἀγῶνα φέρτερον αὐδάσομεν·
ὅθεν ὁ πολύφατος ὕμνος ἀμφιβάλλεται
σοφῶν μητίεσσι, κελαδεῖν
Κρόνου παῖδ᾽ ἐς ἀφνεὰν ἱκομένους
μάκαιραν Ἱέρωνος ἑστίαν,

θεμιστεῖον ὃς ἀμφέπει σκᾶπτον ἐν πολυμήλῳ
Σικελίᾳ, δρέπων μὲν κορυφὰς ἀρετᾶν ἄπο πασᾶν,
ἀγλαΐζεται δὲ καί
μουσικᾶς ἐν ἀώτῳ,
οἷα παίζομεν φίλαν
ἄνδρες ἀμφὶ θαμὰ τράπεζαν. ἀλλὰ Δω-
    ρίαν ἀπὸ φόρμιγγα πασσάλου
λάμβαν᾽, εἴ τί τοι Πίσας τε καὶ Φερενίκου χάρις
νόον ὑπὸ γλυκυτάταις ἔθηκε φροντίσιν,
ὅτε παρ᾽ Ἀλφεῷ σύτο δέμας
ἀκέντητον ἐν δρόμοισι παρέχων,
κράτει δὲ προσέμειξε δεσπόταν,

Συρακόσιον ἱπποχάρ-
    μαν βασιλῆα· λάμπει δέ οἱ κλέος
ἐν εὐάνορι Λυδοῦ Πέλοπος ἀποικίᾳ.

The image suggests a sympotic setting, in which men are gathered in Hieron's home to celebrate his Olympic victory in a single-horse race. The encomiastic elements abound: Hieron is praised for his wealth, hospitality, achievements celebrated in song, and in particular for the Olympic victory of his horse Pherenicus. One would expect to find references to Olympia and Syracuse in a passage like this, but the number of the actual references and the number of transitions between the two environments put the exclusively encomiastic purpose of such references under question: a hymn from Olympia occupies the thoughts of men (7–9), who will sing of the patron god of the Olympic games (10), as they gather around Hieron's wealthy blessed hearth (10–11); he holds the scepter in flock-rich Sicily (11–12) and is celebrated in songs such as the one at hand (14–17); Pisa is the topic on the poet's mind (18) and Pherenicus, who sped on the racecourse by the Alpheius river (20–21), and brought victory to the king of Syracuse (23), so that he is now glorious in Olympia, the colony of Lydian Pelops (23–24). No fewer than five references or allusions to the site of the victory and four to the site of the celebration occur within the span of only 17 lines. If the poet, in addition to simply naming the two places, wished to add more ornament and embellish his depictions of the settings (which surely was a part of his poetic considerations), why did he do it in such a 'shifting' manner? The expression ὅθεν ὁ πολύφατος ὕμνος ἀμφιβάλλεται σοφῶν μητίεσσι (8) suggests a part of the answer: 'from there (i.e., Olympia) the famous song occupies the thoughts of wise men'.[30] I take the song to be the celebration of the Olympic victory in the broadest sense, including this ode itself, but not limited strictly to it. The verb ἀμφιβάλλω, 'to throw around', here used of the song's impact on men's minds, is in *Olympian* 3.13 and *Pythian* 5.31 used of crowning the victor's hair.[31] In celebrating the glory of the Olympic victory, wise men are the metaphorical extension of the crowned athlete. But who are the wise men? In the most immediate context, they are presumably Hieron's close friends, relatives, and other members of the Syracusan elite who gathered for the performance of the song, including Pindar himself.[32] Poten-

30 The exact interpretation of the phrase has been much debated. See Nisetich 1975 for a thorough discussion of various views and his own interpretation, where he understands μητίεσσι as instrumental rather than locative, but still notes the element of coronation present in the verb.

31 Cf. Nisetich 1975 on the crowning metaphor.

32 σοφία and σοφοί in Pindar, as well as in broader Greek literary discourse (e.g., [Pl.] *Hipparch.* 228d), often refer to 'music, poetry' and 'poets', respectively. Cf. *Ol.* 1.116; *Pyth.* 1.12, 2.56, 3.113, 4.248, 6.49, 10.22; *Isthm.* 1.45, 5.28, 7.18, 8.47. However, there are also numerous examples in Pindar where these are not exclusively technical terms, but could include gen-

tially, however, the group can include anyone else hearing the song in a more public (re)performance,[33] who, as a Syracusan or a Sicilian, might also feel 'crowned' as a result of mental engagement with the glory of the victory. The genius of Pindaric praise is that it is specific enough at the level of the individual, yet open-ended enough for an inclusion of a much wider community. In the song's very progression, the 'home setting' is being continuously reshaped and redefined—from the picturesque micro-image of Hieron's hearth and friendly table, to the macro-image of the whole island, and to the *polis* in the middle of the scale. And on every level there is an expected engagement with the location of the victory, as indicated by the song's repeated returns to that setting.

### 3.2 Olympian *9*

The Sicilian odes are somewhat distinctive in their reflection of the historical connections between the ruling elites of the island, and, in particular of the influence that Hieron and Syracuse wielded over Sicily in the fifth century BCE, which, in turn, accounts for the somewhat 'expandable' limits of the individual *polis*' homeland associations.[34] However, multiple references to the victor's hometown, of various degrees of specificity, as well as frequent transitions to the sites of victory, are also found in songs for non-Sicilian patrons.

*Olympian* 9, in honor of Epharmostus of the Locrian city Opous, opens with the following lines (*Ol.* 9.1–20):

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eral public: *Ol.* 2.86, 3.44, 7.31, 7.53. 9.28, 14.7; *Pyth.* 1.42, 5.12, 8.74, *Nem.* 7.17. The connection between the two different connotations of the words is made explicit in *Pyth.* 4.295–296 where the fellow-citizens are wise because of their appreciation of poetry. Cf. Nagy, 1990, 146–150. On the full complexities of the geographical operations in *Ol.* 1 and, more generally on the historical context of the Syracusan odes, see Morgan 2015.

33 For a thorough, though at times speculative, consideration of the epinician reperformances, see Currie 2004. Morrison 2007 focuses on the Sicilian odes, and attempts more thoroughly to distinguish between the premiere/primary audience and reperformances/secondary/wider audience. Although his discussion is nuanced, allowing for the possibility of 'overlapping' audiences, I find the general distinction between various categories of reperfomances somewhat rigid.

34 Sicily is noted as the general 'homeland' region also for victors from Acragas (*Ol.* 2.9) and Aetna (*Pyth.* 1.19, *Nem.* 1.5). Similarly, Mt. Etna, as the most characteristic landscape feature of the island, features in Sicilian odes for different cities (*Ol.* 4.6—Camarina; *Ol.* 6.96, *Pyth.* 3.69—Syracuse). Cf. also *Ol.* 7, which unambiguously celebrates the island of Rhodes, mentioning its three distinct *poleis* (Camirus, Ialysus, and Lindus) on the same footing (75–76), although the victor himself was from Ialysus. The reason in this case might be the smaller and politically less turbulent island community.

The song of Archilochus
resounding at Olympia,
that victory song ringing with three refrains,
was enough for Epharmostus to lead the way beside the hill
of Cronus, as he celebrated with his close friends;
but now, from the far-shooting bow of the Muses
scatter arrows such as these
at Zeus of the red lightning
and the sacred hilltop of Elis,
which Lydian hero Pelops once
won as the most beautiful dowry of Hippodameia;

also cast a sweet winged
arrow at Pytho. (If you do so) you will not
take up words that fall to the ground,
as you make the lyre vibrate in honor of the wrestling of a man
from famous Opous, praising it (= Opous) and its son,
(Opous) which Themis and her savior daughter Eunomia of
great fame obtained as their lot. It flourishes with achievements
beside your stream, Castalia,
and that of Alpheius too,
from where the choicest of garlands exalt
the Locrians' famous mother (city) of splendid trees.

Τὸ μὲν Ἀρχιλόχου μέλος
φωνᾶεν Ὀλυμπίᾳ,
    καλλίνικος ὁ τριπλόος κεχλαδώς
ἄρκεσε Κρόνιον παρ᾽ ὄχθον ἁγεμονεῦσαι
κωμάζοντι φίλοις Ἐφαρμόστῳ σὺν ἑταίροις·
ἀλλὰ νῦν ἑκαταβόλων Μοισᾶν ἀπὸ τόξων
Δία τε φοινικοστερόπαν σεμνόν τ᾽ ἐπίνειμαι
ἀκρωτήριον Ἄλιδος
τοιοῖσδε βέλεσσιν,
τὸ δή ποτε Λυδὸς ἥρως Πέλοψ
ἐξάρατο κάλλιστον ἕδνον Ἱπποδαμείας·

πτερόεντα δ᾽ ἵει γλυκύν
Πυθῶνάδ᾽ ὀϊστόν· οὔ-
    τοι χαμαιπετέων λόγων ἐφάψεαι,
ἀνδρὸς ἀμφὶ παλαίσμασιν φόρμιγγ᾽ ἐλελίζων

κλεινᾶς ἐξ Ὀπόεντος· αἰνήσαις ἓ καὶ υἱόν,
ἃν Θέμις θυγάτηρ τέ οἱ σώτειρα λέλογχεν
μεγαλόδοξος Εὐνομία. Θάλλει δ' ἀρεταῖσιν
σόν τε, Κασταλία, πάρα
Ἀλφεοῦ τε ῥέεθρον·
ὅθεν στεφάνων ἄωτοι κλυτάν
Λοκρῶν ἐπαείροντι ματέρ' ἀγλαόδενδρον.

The brief triple-refrain, attributed to Archilochus and chanted in honor of the victor in the immediate aftermath of the Olympic victory, is set up as a foil for the present occasion (ἀλλὰ νῦν, 5), which promises a celebration on a much grander scale. That scale is defined in terms of the distance between the site of the celebration and the two sites of Epharmostus' victories—Olympia and Pytho. While Archilochus' song resounded only in Olympia, Pindar's will echo from Opous and reach, like arrows shot from a bow, Olympia and Pytho (5–12), involving them both in the present celebration and transporting the audience to their splendor. The movement between the victory in Olympia to the present celebration and back to the two sites of athletic competitions (1–12) is repeated in the following lines. This time Opous is named (14), briefly characterized by its orderly life (15–16), and later paraphrased as 'the Locrians' famous mother of splendid trees' (20). As in *Olympian* 1, the paraphrase is not simply another way of saying the same thing: by expanding the realm of geographical references, the praise brings into its fold a wider spectrum of potential *laudandi*, while at the same time granting the victor a larger space in which his victory matters. Between these references to Opous, however, the song does not let us remain far from Olympia (the stream of Alpheius, 18) and Pytho (the spring of Castalia, 17).[35] Those are the places where Opous flourishes (16) and from where the garlands are brought to celebrate it at home (19–20).[36] The emphasis on the essential connection between the two locations is clear both in the structure and in the content of these verses: interwoven references

35 As in *Ol.* 1, the mention of such different local referents achieves the 'accordion' effect of the spatial expansion (on the level of the region) and contraction (on the level of the specific topographical feature), as the song zooms in and out of Olympia.

36 Note the relative ὅθεν (19), just as in *Ol.* 1.8. Ellipsis of the verb of coming, bringing, or similar, only tightens the connection between the original and final destination of the garlands. In *Ol.* 5.2, a similar effect was achieved by the exhortation to Camarina to 'receive the garlands (won) at Olympia' (τῶν Οὐλυμπίᾳ). Bonifazi 2004a discusses the (older) demonstrative force felt in Pindar's relative pronouns. For further discussion on deixis in Pindar, see below, at pp. 373 ff.

to Opous, Olympia and Pytho are coupled with polyvalent spatial directions that blur the physical distance between the two sites. Having set the scene of celebration in Opous, Pindar invokes the famous Pythian spring, implying some level of proximity to it, and then 'locates' Opous as flourishing right beside it. Such creative use of spatial metaphors and deictic devices further facilitates the poetic fusion between two distinct moments in time and place—the victory and the celebration.[37]

### 3.3 Pythian *11*

One might go through the rest of the Pindaric corpus, finding many similar passages, but perhaps just one more will suffice to illustrate Pindar's infinite versatility with which he achieves the same ultimate goal. *Pythian* 11, celebrating the victory of Thrasydaeus of Thebes opens with the invocation to the major Theban heroines (*Pyth.* 11.3–16):

> Go with the most nobly born mother of Heracles to
> Melia at the sanctuary (which is) the treasury
> of golden tripods, which Loxias honored before all others
>
> and named Ismenion, the true seat of seers,
> o children of Harmonia,
> where now too he calls the local host of
> heroines to come assembled,
> so that you may celebrate holy Themis, Pytho, and
>
> the straight-judging navel of the earth at nightfall
> in honor of seven-gated Thebes
> and the contest of Cirrha,
> in which Thrasydaeus made famous his ancestral
> hearth by casting upon (it) a third garland,
> because of winning in the rich fields of Pylades,
> the host of Laconian Orestes.
>
> ἴτε σὺν Ἡρακλέος ἀριστογόνῳ
> ματρὶ πὰρ Μελίαν χρυσέων ἐς ἄδυτον τριπόδων
> θησαυρόν, ὃν περίαλλ᾽ ἐτίμασε Λοξίας,

37 For further discussion of both metaphors and deictic devices, see below, at pp. 371ff.

Ἰσμήνιον δ' ὀνύμαξεν, ἀλαθέα μαντίων θῶκον,
ὦ παῖδες Ἁρμονίας,
  ἔνθα καί νυν ἐπίνομον ἡρωΐδων
στρατὸν ὁμαγερέα καλεῖ συνίμεν,
ὄφρα θέμιν ἱερὰν Πυθῶνά τε καὶ ὀρθοδίκαν

γᾶς ὀμφαλὸν κελαδήσετ' ἄκρᾳ σὺν ἑσπέρᾳ
ἑπταπύλοισι Θήβαις
χάριν ἀγῶνί τε Κίρρας,
ἐν τῷ Θρασυδᾷος ἔμνασεν ἑστίαν
τρίτον ἔπι στέφανον πατρῴαν βαλών,
ἐν ἀφνεαῖς ἀρούραισι Πυλάδα
νικῶν ξένου Λάκωνος Ὀρέστα.

In this ode the victory celebration is envisioned in a ritual setting: it takes place in Ismenion, Apollo's temple in Thebes, famous for rendering oracles (ἀλαθέα μαντίων θῶκον, 6). Accordingly, the god is referred to by his cultic name Loxias, and 'the innermost shrine' (ἄδυτον, 4) of the temple—instead of the less marked ἄλσος (as in *Ol.* 5.10) or τέμενος—colors the song's opening with religious overtones.[38] Finally, the expression καί νυν (7), a verbal marker of a ritually repeated action, describes Apollo's gathering of the local heroines and adds a hymnic element to the poet's initial imperative ἴτε (3).[39] It is only suitable that the celebration of a Pythian victory be presided over by its patron god, and the audience is soon reminded of the cause of the festivities. The next few lines alternate in the familiar manner between Pytho, 'the straight-judging navel of the earth', (9–10) and 'seven-gated Thebes' (11), between 'the contest of Cirrha' (12) and Thrasydaeus' 'ancestral hearth' (13), before returning to 'the rich fields of Pylades' (15), tying the two environments in a single act of poetic and ritual commemoration.[40]

38 For τέμενος and ἄλσος as a broader area of a god's precinct, see *Ol.* 10.76, *Pyth.* 2.2, 4.56, 4.204, 5.33, 12.27, *Nem.* 6.41, 6.61, 7.94, *Isthm.* 1.59 (τέμενος); *Ol.* 3.18, 5.10, 7.49, 10.45, 13.109, *Pyth.* 5.89, *Nem.* 2.5, 7.44, *Isthm.* 1.57, 2.28 (ἄλσος).

39 Cf. Hom. *Il.* 1.455, 14.234–235, 16.236–238; Sappho 1 (L–P), discussed in this context by Nagy 1996, 96–101. More generally, on the elements of hymnic style in Pindar's victory odes, see Race 1990, 85–117.

40 Cirrha was a town in the coastal plain below Delphi where the games were held; by the fifth century BCE it had assimilated the more ancient neighboring town of Crisa. Both names are the common shorthand for Delphi. Cf. *Pyth.* 3.74, 7.16, 8.19, 10.15, 11.12 (Cirrha); *Pyth.* 5.37, 6.18, *Isthm.* 2.18 (Crisa). 'Fields of Pylades' is a unique reference in the Pindaric

### 3.4 *Geographies of Space: Other Examples*

*Olympians* 1 and 9, and *Pythian* 11 represent the most common pattern of the poetic spatial movements along the victory-hometown axis. A number of the odes, in addition to such transitions in the beginning of the ode, also refer to the two locations at least once more towards the end of the ode.[41] For example, *Nemean* 9, composed for a victory by Chromius of Aetna in the Sicyonian games, closes with an exhortation for 'the silver cups which Chromius' horses won and sent along with the duly woven crowns of Leto's son from holy Sicyon' (ἀργυρέαισι … φιάλαισι … ἅς ποθ' ἵπποι κτησάμεναι Χρομίῳ πέμψαν θεμιπλέκτοις ἁμᾶ Λατοΐδα στεφάνοις ἐκ τᾶς ἱερᾶς Σικυῶνος, 51–53) to be used in the present sympotic festivities, incorporating the recognizable symbols of Sicyon in the local celebration in Aetna. Before the closing praises of Arcesilas of Cyrene, *Pythian* 5 ties his Delphic victory to 'the outpourings of revel songs' (ῥανθεισᾶν κώμων ὑπὸ χεύμασιν, 100) in Cyrene through the figure of Apollo (103–107).[42]

Similarly, the last 10 lines of *Olympian* 7 invoke Zeus of Mt. Atabyrium on Rhodes to 'honor the hymn ordained for an Olympic victory' (τίμα μὲν ὕμνου τεθμὸν Ὀλυμπιονίκαν, 88) of the famous boxer Diagoras, thereby exploiting Zeus' 'double-duty' associations on the panhellenic and the local level. The last two odes, *Pythian* 5 and *Olympian* 7, are also notable for their creative alternatives in multiple initial transitions between Pytho and Cyrene, and Olympia, Pytho, and Rhodes, respectively. *Olympian* 7 in the first three stanzas sets up a generic scenario in which Pindar through his songs 'gains the favor of victors at Olympia and Pytho' (ἱλάσκομαι Ὀλυμπίᾳ Πυθοῖ τε νικώντεσσιν, 9–10). This general picture leads into the specific setting of the present celebration, which allows the song to smoothly move back and forth in space, delineating over and again the importance of the victory-hometown axis (13–19).

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corpus to denote the region of Phocis where Delphi was located. Its choice was probably determined by the ode's myth, often called a 'little Oresteia'.

41 Medial transitions in the odes are rare: only in *Pyth.* 8 and *Isthm.* 9 are there three discrete transitions (initial, medial, and final), which are separated by poetically different material. *Pyth.* 9 contains a brief initial transition from Pytho to Cyrene, and without any closing mentions of the two locations, brings up the victory-hometown axis in the middle of the ode (*Pyth.* 9.71–75).

42 Earlier in the ode, the celebration of the festivities (including, perhaps, the performance of this very song) is firmly localized in Cyrene: Arcesilas is 'being sung in the sweet garden of Aphrodite in Cyrene' (Κυράνᾳ γλυκὺν ἀμφὶ κᾶπον Ἀφροδίτας ἀειδόμενον, 24). Cf. Currie 2005, 226–227.

*Pythian* 5 achieves the same effect by recounting multiple homecoming journeys, first of the primary *laudandus*, Arcesilas, and then of his charioteer Carrhotus (20–31). Although the owners of horse chariots usually did not compete themselves, it is hard to see why Arcesilas would not be present in Delphi for the victory crowning.[43] But the poetic moment at which the charioteer bestows the crown upon the official victor (31) is intentionally ambiguous, following, as it does, first his return to Cyrene (27–28) and then the hospitable reception in Pytho (31). The song effectively merges two distinct places into a single commemorative moment.

Among the examples discussed so far, *Olympians* 7 and 9—though commissioned on the occasions of Olympic victories—equally emphasized the athletes' earlier successes at Pytho. Previous victories by athletes, as well as their ancestors and relatives, are often in the background of the present celebration, as they further expand the glory of the individual, the family, and the *polis* at large. Enumeration of victories at the sites of the other three major panhellenic contests (Pytho, Nemea, and Isthmus), as well as at a range of smaller local religious festivals that included athletic competitions, accounts for a significant number of geographic locations associated with athletic contests that complement the location of the present victory and expand the athletic map of the odes.[44] Nemean and Isthmian odes are especially remarkable in this respect: in terms of the victory-hometown axis, they follow the same pattern observed so far in Olympian and Pythian odes, but instead of the initial (and occasionally final) repeated shifts between the hometown and a single panhellenic contest, they move along multiple sites of athletic victories. The effect of such 'geo-

43 Miller 2004, 75–84.

44 The locations of contests other than the four major 'crown games' that made it into the Pindaric corpus are: Athens (*Ol.* 7.82, 9.88, 13.37–39; *Pyth.* 9.97–98; *Nem.* 4.18–19, 10.34–36; *Isthm.* 2.19–20, 4.25); Argos (*Ol.* 7.83, 9.89, 13.107; *Nem.* 10 (*passim*); Arcadia in general (*Ol.* 7.83, 9.95–96, 13.107–108; *Nem.* 10.48), Cleitor and Tegea specifically (*Nem.* 10.45–47); Thebes (*Ol.* 7.84, 9.98–99, 13.107; *Nem.* 4.19–21; *Isthm.* 1.55–56), which is probably also meant by the 'contest of the Boeotians' (*Ol.* 7.84–85); Orchomenos (*Isthm.* 1.56); Pellana (*Ol.* 7.86, 9.97–98, 13.109; *Nem.* 10.44); Aegina (*Ol.* 7.86, 13.109; *Pyth.* 9.90–92; *Nem.* 5.45) and 'the local contest of Hera' in *Pyth.* 8.79–80); Megara (*Ol.* 7.86, 13.109; *Pyth.* 8.78, 9.90–92; *Nem.* 3.84, 5.46; *Isthm.* 8.66–67); Eleusis (*Ol.* 9.99, 13.110; *Isthm.* 1.57); Sicyon (*Ol.* 13.109; *Nem.* 9 (*passim*), 10.28, 43; *Isthm.* 4.26); Marathon (*Ol.* 9.89, 13.110; *Pyth.* 8.79); Sicily (*Ol.* 13.111–112); Euboea (*Ol.* 13.112, *Isthm.* 1.57); Epidaurus (*Nem.* 3.84, 5.52–53; *Isthm.* 8.68); Thessaly (*Isthm.* 1.58–59); Cyrene (*Pyth.* 9.101–103); Rhodes (*Ol.* 7.77–80); Corinth (for Athena Hellotis: *Ol.* 13.40); Acharnae (*Nem.* 2.23–24); Tenedos (*Nem.* 11.19–20). Future Olympic and Pythian victories are also anticipated in *Ol.* 1.109–111; *Pyth.* 1.34–38, 5.124; *Nem.* 2.6–12; *Isthm.* 6.7–9, 7.49–51.

graphic expansion of praise' is analogous to, if somewhat different from, the emphasis on a single celebrated victory. *Nemean* 4 provides a particularly good example of this phenomenon.

The poet's exhortation to honor Nemea, where Timasarchus won with the help of Zeus, the divine patron of the Nemean games, is predictably followed by a reference to the athlete's hometown, Aegina: the praise from Pindar will be received by 'the well-fortified seat of the Aeacidae' (11–12), the island's legendary founders and most famous mythical ancestors. Next, instead of returning to Nemea, the song takes us to other sites of Timasarchus' athletic prowess—Cleonae, Athens, and Thebes (17–19). However, we are not to forget the hometown's share in those victory celebrations, as it was 'on account of Aegina' (22) that Timasarchus was crowned with victory garlands.[45] Instead of focusing on Nemea and bringing it to the audience and the audience to it again and again, the song weaves out a network of locations, each of which receives a smaller share of attention, but all of which, importantly, are anchored in and direct us back to Aegina. As the glory of victory gets distributed among various locations, the praise of the athlete, his family, and his city multiplies in proportion.

The tendency to expand the map of victories especially in the Nemean and Isthmian odes may be explained by the relatively lesser status of those contests in comparison with the games in Olympia and Pytho, which were established earlier, took place less frequently (every four years, as opposed to every two in the case of Nemean and Isthmian games), and attracted more prominent athletes.[46] However, Pindar's poetic treatment of space in these songs makes up for any potentially inferior luster in the athletic accomplishment, by effectively modeling on the repeated transitions to and from Olympia and Pytho, while retaining the singular focus on the hometown. Fame is in the naming, and Pindar is the master of fame.[47]

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45 The return to the 'secondary site' of victory in lines 22–24 may reflect Pindar's emphasis on the kinship and close friendship (φίλοισι γὰρ φίλος ἐλθών, 22) between the two cities (Aegina and Thebes), further elaborated in *Isthm.* 8.16–21.

46 Miller 2004, 101–112. Only 6 out of 14 *Olympians* (2, 8, 9, 13) and 4 out of 12 *Pythians* (7, 8, 10, 11) mention past victories, compared to 8 out of 11 *Nemeans* (all but 7, 8, 9) and all but one *Isthmian* (7). The stress on the family accomplishments may have been more prominent in the commission of victory odes for non-rulers (who account for the significant number of Nemean and Isthmian odes), but the inverse relationship between the splendor of the games and the mentions of previous victories cannot be purely accidental.

47 Cf. Carey 1989a, 2–3: 'For immortality the naming is essential. To be preserved in song as

## 4 Metaphors of Movement

The most common devices that Pindar employs to accomplish fluid transitions between the site of victory and the site of celebration are metaphors of spatial movement. In *Olympian* 5, the imperative δέκευ ('welcome') in line 3 (re)creates the image of a homecoming procession from Olympia. The song thus exploits the dynamic polyvalence of the term κῶμος, which, although technically differentiated from a ritual procession (πόμπη), in Pindar's poetry often connotes just such an event.[48] The performers' movements and gestures would have presumably added to the visualization of the celebratory procession, but the full length of its journey had to be completed in the audience's imagination. The opening of *Nemean* 9 articulates the processional metaphor quite explicitly: 'let us go in celebration from Apollo at Sicyon to the newly-founded Aetna' (κωμάσομεν παρ' Ἀπόλλωνος Σικυωνόθε τὰν νεοκτίσταν ἐς Αἴτναν, 1–2).[49] *Pythian* 6.1–4, on the other hand, directs the celebratory revel from Acragas back to Pytho ('as we proceed to the enshrined navel of the loudly rambling earth', ὀμφαλὸν ἐριβρόμου χθονὸς ἐς νάϊον προσοιχόμενοι), where a 'treasure house of hymns' (ὕμνων θησαυρός, 7–8)—itself a metaphor for poetic commemoration, rivaling that of physical treasuries at Delphi—awaits victorious Xenocrates.

As is clear by now, the movement between the site of the victory and the athlete's hometown is rarely a simple one-directional shift, and Pindar's metaphors reflect that. Whether the song itself is imagined as a 'volley of arrows' cast from Opous back to Olympia (*Ol.* 9.5–12), a 'Nemean ornament' brought to Aegina (*Nem.* 8.13–16), or 'countless roads' from Corinth that lead Pindar to praise a Theban family in every direction (*Isthm.* 4.1–3), metaphors are crucial in moving the ode forward and back along the axes connecting the sites of athletic contests with the victor's hometown.[50] These movements mirror the athlete's

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an anonymous father, uncle or grandfather is not to be preserved at all. In contrast, to be named in song without having one's precise relationship to the patron defined is still to be preserved … It is the naming which immortalizes'.

48 For the song's performance as a κῶμος, see *Ol.* 4.9, 11.18, 14.16; *Pyth.* 5.22. *Nem.* 2.24, 9.1, and *Isthm.* 3.8, 4.72b express the same notion with the verb κωμάζω. *Ol.* 3.6 (φωνὰν ἀγλαόκωμον) and *Pyth.* 10.6 (ἐπικωμίαν ὄπα) explicitly connect κῶμος with voice, i.e., singing. For an extensive debate over the term in connection with the 'Pindaric first persons', see Heath 1988; Lefkowitz 1988, 1995; Burnett 1989; Carey 1989b, 1991; Bremer 1990; Morgan 1993. My own discussion here assumes that a chorus of performers would be perfectly able to assume the *persona* of the poet, and be understood as such by the audiences.

49 The ode celebrates a victory in the Sicyonian games. On the closing lines, which mirror the opening, and effectively complete a ring composition, see above, at p. 368.

50 For an extensive discussion of metaphor in Pindar, see Steiner 1986.

own journey to and from the games, in a glorious celebratory homecoming, as well as echoing his fame to the place where he earned it and to the rest of the world. Moreover, since Pindar is a key figure in the commemoration of the victory, these dynamic metaphors often conflate his own journey with that of the athlete, as he is imagined accompanying him either on the festive homecoming (*Ol.* 7.13) or on the next victorious voyage to the games (*Ol.* 1.109–111).[51]

Although metaphors of motion occasionally serve as transitions between the *hic et nunc* and the mythical past, their much more prominent function in the odes is to associate various locations of athletic competitions with the athlete's home. It is therefore not a coincidence that *Nemean* 6, one of the few longer odes that lack an extensive myth, contains by far the most metaphors that transport the audience back and forth from Aegina to various sites of games in which Alcimidas and the rest of his athletically-oriented family achieved numerous victories. The young athlete has arrived from Nemea to Aegina (ἦλθέ τοι Νεμέας ἐξ ἐρατῶν ἀέθλων … νῦν πέφανται, 11–13b) by 'following in the footsteps' of his grandfather Praxidamas (ἴχνεσιν ἐν Πραξιδάμαντος ἑὸν πόδα νέμων, 15), who, in turn, had previously brought to Aegina shoots from Olympia, Isthmus, and Nemea (Αἰακίδαις ἔρνεα πρῶτος ‹ἔνεικεν› ἀπ' Ἀλφεοῦ, καὶ πεντάκις Ἰσθμοῖ στεφανωσάμενος, Νεμέᾳ δὲ τρεῖς, 17–20), and thus, along with his athletic brothers, 'reached the height of virtue' (πρὸς ἄκρον ἀρετᾶς ἦλθον, 23–24).[52] Three further images—Pindar as 'an archer shooting from a bow' (ὥτ' ἀπὸ τόξου ἱείς, 28), his song as 'a glorious wind of words' (οὖρον ἐπέων εὐκλέα, 28b–29), and the athletic family 'carrying shiploads of their victory songs' (ἴδια ναυστολέοντες ἐπικώμια, 32)—move the song from Aegina to Pytho, Isthmus, and Nemea where two more family members were victorious (34–44). The return to 'the famous island' (νᾶσον εὐκλέα τάνδε, 46) is accomplished through an elaborate imagery of 'paths of praise from every direction' (πλατεῖαι πάντοθεν λογίοισιν ἐντὶ πρόσοδοι, 45; ὁδὸν ἀμαξιτόν, 54), which Pindar traverses as he 'follows earlier poets' (ἕπομαι δὲ καὶ αὐτός, 54). Meanwhile, the image of countless roads to

51 Cf. Slater 1984, 245–246: 'Perhaps only a small proportion of Pindar's songs were actually composed for a victorious entry, but the symbolism of the kômos/nostos could still be present in those that were not'. Pindar's vivid depictions of the winning athletic events (e.g., *Ol.* 1.20–21, 8.67–69; *Pyth.* 5.34–39) further contribute to the impression of his presence by the side of the victor.

52 Especially striking are the metaphors expressing the utmost limits of accomplishment in terms of contemporary geographical 'edges' of the world: the pillars of Hercules/Gadeira (*Ol.* 3.43–44, *Nem.* 3.20–21, 4.69–70, *Isthm.* 4.12–13), the spring of the Nile (*Isthm.* 2.41–42, 6.22–23), the Hyperboreans (*Pyth.* 10.28–29, *Isthm.* 6.22–23), and the river Phasis in Colchis (*Isthm.* 2.41–42).

Aegina is mirrored in the counter-directional image of the Aeacid 'name flying far and wide over the land and across the sea' (πέταται δ' ἐπί τε χθόνα καὶ διὰ θαλάσσας τηλόθεν ὄνυμ' αὐτῶν, 48–49). Finally, the return to the present victory, which is 'the wave always rolling at the foot of the ship' (τὸ δὲ πὰρ ποδὶ ναὸς ἑλισσόμενον αἰεὶ κυμάτων, 55) and, because of the athletic glory of the whole family, only a part of Pindar's 'double burden on the willing back' (ἑκόντι ... νώτῳ ... δίδυμον ἄχθος, 57), brings together all the previously mentioned locations by associating 'the games which men call sacred' (ἀγώνων ἄπο, τοὺς ἐνέποισιν ἱερούς, 59) with the 'famous race' (κλειτᾷ γενεᾷ, 61).

Of all the rich imagery on Pindar's repertoire, metaphors of travel and voyaging (both on land and at sea) in particular must have resonated with the audiences in the moment of the celebration. Anchored as they were in the realities of travel of the athlete as well as Pindar, they would have had special significance and offered layers of meaning for everyone involved: the athlete and those who accompanied him on the journey could proudly and publicly relive the experience; the rest of the audience could complete the same travel in their imagination, guided by Pindar's careful cues and vivid directions; and in numerous considerations of human lives and accomplishments as metaphorical journeys, both an exceptional man and everyman could find a reflection of himself.[53]

## 5 Pointing as a Spatial Guide[54]

We have seen so far how the audience, as it travels along with the song, is continually encouraged to make mental switches between the two crucial locations, the site of the victory and the site of the celebration, until the distinction between the start and the end of the journey is virtually erased in the dynamics of back and forth movements. The culmination of this phenomenon finds expression in the occasional collapsing of the two end-points of the victory-

53 Cf. Steiner 1986, 66: 'Motion, impermanence and change all come together in the image of the voyage which functions at every level of the ode's subject and theme, binding song and material into a close complex. The voyage describes the lives of the individual athlete and poet, that of the chorus and the audience who stand as representatives of the broader interests which Pindar must address'.

54 For a particularly insightful work on the poetics of deixis in Pindar and other lyric poets, see Felson 2004a, especially the contributions by Athanassaki, Martin, Felson, and Bonifazi. See also Felson 1999 for a detailed commentary on *Pythian* 4 within this framework.

hometown axis into a single nexus that inextricably binds them, effectively eliminating any linear distinction between the two locations.

The last triad in *Olympian* 5 is a particularly good example of this occurrence. The invocation to Zeus localizes him firmly in Olympia—he inhabits the hill of Cronus and honors the wide-flowing Alpheius and the holy cave of Ida (17–18). The poet further announces that he comes as *his* (i.e., Zeus') suppliant: ἱκέτας σέθεν ἔρχομαι (19). σέθεν as an anaphoric deictic pronoun in this case (pointing back to Zeus of line 17), in connection with the 'I' of ἔρχομαι, creates a speech act in which some proximity is implied between the speaker and the addressee. Given the emphatic localization of Zeus in Olympia in the previous lines, the first impression is that we are dealing with an immediate post-victory performance at the site of the contest. This scenario, however, is contradicted by the earlier deictic τόνδε δᾶμον ἀστῶν (14), pointing to the community of citizens in Camarina, who inhabit the landscape described in those lines. After the invocation to Zeus in Olympia, further deixis to Camarina as 'this city' (πόλιν τάνδε, 20) affirms the location of the celebration, in turn requiring the audience to reconfigure the relationship between 'you' and 'I' of the previous line. What at first seemed to be deixis *ad oculos*, pointing to the realia in the surrounding context, in fact turns out to be deixis *am Phantasma*, which imaginatively brought the Olympian landscape into existence by the very act of localizing its divine inhabitant within its sacred space.

Invocations of deities visualized at the sites of games, or even of the personifications of the sites themselves, are Pindar's favorite deictic devices that effectively recreate far-away landscapes and at the same time emphatically point to them, cuing the audience to visualize them in their mind's eye. It is precisely such deixis *am Phantasma*, or pointing to things in one's imagination, that has raised the vexed question of where exactly Pindar's epinicians were performed. *Olympian* 8's opening invocation of Olympia (1–7), and, in particular, the request for Pisa's grove with beautiful trees on the Alpheius river to receive the celebratory performance of the song (ὦ Πίσας εὔδενδρον ἐπ᾽ Ἀλφεῷ ἄλσος τόνδε κῶμον καὶ στεφαναφορίαν δέξαι, 9–10) has led many commentators to conclude that the ode was performed in Olympia, despite references later in the ode that clearly point to Aegina (τάνδ᾽ ἁλιερκέα χώραν, 25; δεῦρ᾽, 51).[55] However, in the case of *Olympian* 9, which similarly invokes the stream of Castalia (σόν τε, Κασταλία, πάρα … ῥέεθρον, 17–18), no similar assumption has been made, and it seems for a good reason: suggesting a performance in Delphi for an Olympic

55 Gildersleeve 1885, 192: 'The song seems to have been sung immediately after the victory during the procession to the altar of Zeus in the Altis'. Cf. Race 1997, I 134.

victory of an athlete from Opous would be a stretch even for the most literally-minded interpreter.[56] However, such imaginative invocations should make us all the more cautious about taking numerous other second-person references at face value. It is no small compliment to Pindar's mastery that his poetic fusion of distinct locales has caused so much uncertainty among the interpreters, both ancient and modern.

Demonstrative pronouns ὅδε, ἥδε, τόδε, denoting objects closest to the speaker, as a rule refer to the athlete's hometown, and therefore seem to take precedence in the deixis *ad oculos* over proximity implied in invocations.[57] However, even instances in which the pronoun has traditionally been interpreted as referring to a location in or near the victor's city, are often ambiguously constructed, as in the following example from *Nemean* 7 (*Nem.* 7.80–84):

> Having mentioned Zeus, set in motion softly
> the famous sound of hymns for Nemea.
> It is fitting to sing of the king of gods
> on this ground with a gentle voice;
> for they say that through the mother-
> receiving seed he begat Aeacus

> Διὸς δὲ μεμναμένος ἀμφὶ Νεμέᾳ
> πολύφατον θρόον ὕμνων δόνει
> ἡσυχᾷ. βασιλῆα δὲ θεῶν πρέπει
> δάπεδον ἂν τόδε γαρυέμεν ἡμέρᾳ
> ὀπί· λέγοντι γὰρ Αἰακόν
> νιν ὑπὸ ματροδόκοις γοναῖς φυτεῦσαι

The mention of Zeus in connection with the 'hymns for Nemea' (80–81) is necessitated by his patronage of these games, so the following reference to 'this ground' (δάπεδον τόδε, 83) at first seems to refer generally to Nemea, and perhaps even specifically to the sanctuary of Zeus, in which the athletic competitions were celebrated and commemorated.[58] It is not until the following line, however, that the further connection between Zeus and the race of the

56 I would not exclude such a scenario in reperformance. See above, at p. 363.

57 Cf. *Ol.* 5.14, 5.20, 7.30, 8.25, 13. 27; *Pyth.* 8.99, 9.91; *Nem.* 3.68, 6.46, 7.83, 8.14; *Isthm.* 5.22, 6.21, 6.65. No comparative usage of the pronoun in connection with the site of the games (except in the case of *Nem.* 7.83, discussed here) is to be found in Pindar's epinicians.

58 Miller 2004, 105–111.

Aeacidae, and therefore Aegina, is brought to the fore. Based on this, most commentators prefer to see Aegina as 'this ground',[59] but I would argue against an unequivocal interpretation. Given similar deictic ambiguities discussed above, I see no reason to attach the pronoun in this case to one location only. The performance of the song could have allowed for an initial anaphoric deixis *am Phantasma* to the plain of Zeus in Nemea, only to be reconfigured a moment later as a cataphoric deixis *ad oculos*, evoking Zeus' legendary presence on Aegina. Of course, the creation as well as the resolution of the ambiguity would have depended on the precise motions and gesturing of the song's performers, as they guided the audience's attention through both visible and visualized settings. Today all we are left with are deictic expressions without obvious referents, but in that lies another brilliant 'expansion' of Pindar's epinicians. Deictic devices, dependent as they are on each singular performance of the song, open up the potential for reperformance in space as well as time. While pointing to places without naming them would have created a powerful visual for the original audiences, it would leave the spatial specifics more flexible for a future celebration.

## 6 Local Landscapes

My final observation has to do with the disproportional amount of description that the athlete's hometown and the site of the victory receive in the epinicians. Although it is common for Pindar to allude to any place by using the name of a figure associated with a particular town or region, or a prominent landscape marker (rivers and mountains are the most common ones), no other location in any ode is defined by so many paraphrases and elaborations as these two focal points.

*Olympian* 5, in particular, is remarkable for its attention to the details of the local topography. The ode situates Camarina between the two rivers (11–12), still existent in modern Sicily—Hipparis to the west and closer to the ancient city, and Oanus (modern Rifriscolaro) to the east. Within the city, the temple of Athena is the focus of attention (10–11). Olympia, too, is located not only by its natural landscape features (the hill of Cronus, the wide-flowing Alpheius, and the holy cave of Ida, 17–18), but also its cultic and ritual settings shaped by men (the six double altars, abodes of Oenomaus and Pelops, 5–6, 9–10).[60]

59 See, e.g., Race 1997, II 79; Kirkwood 1982, 274.

60 On the shrine of Pelops in Olympia, see Miller 2004, 90, 104, 111, 124, 224. The eastern

These 'shorthand' descriptions, reminiscent of pictorial maps sometimes encountered on coins and in early cartography, emphasizing interesting historic sites, signature buildings, and natural curiosities characteristic of the region, are by no means unique to *Olympian* 5.[61] Many other odes mention similar topographical and landscape markers: *Olympian* 7.17–19 describes Rhodes as 'the island with its three cities near to the jutting coast of broad Asia, inhabited by Argive spearmen' (Ἀσίας εὐρυχόρου τρίπολιν νᾶσον πέλας ἐμβόλῳ ναίοντας Ἀργείᾳ σὺν αἰχμᾷ); in *Olympian* 14.1–4, Graces are envisioned as dwelling in 'shining Orchomenos, a land of beautiful horses, by the waters of Cephisus, and guarding the ancient inhabitants Minyae' (Καφισίων ὑδάτων λαχοῖσαι αἵτε ναίετε καλλίπωλον ἕδραν, ὦ λιπαρᾶς ἀοίδιμοι βασίλειαι Χάριτες Ἐρχομενοῦ, παλαιγόνων Μινυᾶν ἐπίσκοποι); and in *Pythian* 5, Delphi is visualized not only through the usual topographical paraphrases, such as the stream of Castalia, the hill of Crisa and Mt. Parnassus, but also a detail of Apollo's sanctuary (*Pyth.* 5.39–42):[62]

The shrine of cypress wood holds
it (= dedicated chariot equipment) next to the statue,
which the bow-bearing Cretans set up in the Parnassian
chamber, carved from a single trunk.

… τό σφ᾽ ἔχει κυπαρίσσινον
μέλαθρον ἀμφ᾽ ἀνδριάντι σχεδόν,
Κρῆτες ὃν τοξοφόροι τέγεϊ Παρνασσίῳ
καθέσσαντο μονόδροπον φυτόν.

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pediment of the temple of Zeus in Olympia depicted the story of the prototypical chariot race between Pelops and Oenomaus.

61 Coinage of Camarina illustrates this well: a common type dated to 415–405 BCE features on the obverse the head of the river god Hipparis with horns on his forehead, a fish swimming on either side of his head, and a border of waves around the edges. On the reverse the nymph Camarina (often identified by an inscription) rides on a swimming swan (Westermark and Jenkins 1980, Plate 21). Another common type from this period (to which most hoards of Camarina are dated) features Athena, and could therefore be connected with the particularly prominent cult of Athena in Camarina (Westermark and Jenkins 1980, Plate 36). Both types of coins complement *Olympian* 5 on the visual level, not only in indicating the city's prominent topographical features, but also in representing them as personifications.

62 The unusual mention of the other peoples' temple dedication has caused speculations about a connection between the Cretans and the Battidae, but Gildersleeve 1885, 309 notes that 'the peculiar sanctity of the effigy is enough to account for the mention'.

The odes also refer to specific spatial markers inside athletes' hometowns, such as the altar of Ajax, son of Oileus in Opous (*Ol.* 9.112), Apollo's fountain (*Pyth.* 4.294) and Battus' tombstone (*Pyth.* 5.93) in Cyrene, and the forecourt of Aeacus' temple in Aegina (*Nem.* 5.53–54), which were probably relevant for the performance at hand.[63]

Reconstructing the precise location of an epinician performance is an impossible task, and potential reperformances complicate the question even further.[64] However, the most recent reassessment of evidence suggests that the norm was a highly public event in the victor's city with strong ritual and/or religious connotations: *Olympian* 3 and *Pythian* 5 were probably performed in the context of civic festivals commissioned by the Acragan and Cyrenean autocrats respectively (Theron and Arcesilas);[65] some odes for non-rulers appear to be linked to a particular shrine or cult event, whether as part of a recurrent festival or a special occasion;[66] and even the odes which seem to be most inti-

63 I think Steiner 1986, 88–89 underestimates the visual significance of the landscapes presented in Pindaric odes, when she notes: 'They assume features which serve only as symbols of human aspirations, limitations and achievements. Even the actual cities where the patrons and poet dwell and the very real sites where the Games are held are invested with religious and mythical overtones which transform their appearance and make them vehicles for abstract themes. The recognisable rivers, fountains and mountains which exist in town and countryside become artificial creations, the particular possession of the poet and the forces which help him in his artistry'. I think Gildersleeve 1885, 309 was closer to the point in commenting on *Pythian* 5.31: 'With reference to the usual lustration in the waters of Kastalia, and not merely a periphrasis for Pytho'.

64 Cf. Carey 2007, 200: 'It [Pindar's poetry] is only intermittently informative about the precise location—and even then only by implication … Some of this is certainly strategic in that one obvious effect of the lack of specificity about the physical aspects of the première is to elide the difference between the first and subsequent performances. This elision in turn facilitates the process of projecting the song and its honorands beyond their polis into the larger performative context of Greece in fulfillment of the boast/promise of the panegyrists that their song provides a fame which transcends the boundaries of time and space'.

65 Krummen 1990, 98–151, 217–266 has made a persuasive case for these two epinicians. She suggests a similar context of performance for *Isthmian* 4 in Thebes, but this has been questioned by Carey 2007, 201–202.

66 Carey 2007, 202 lists a few: '*Olympian* 9 … appears to have been performed at a feast of Lokrian Aias (*O.* 9.108–112) … *Pythian* 11.1–6 advertises itself as performed at the Ismenion in Thebes … *Nemean* 8 may have been performed at a heroon of Aiakos'. He further notes on the state's involvement in the proceedings: 'Any performance at a public festival, great or small, presupposes the agreement of the civic authorities, and one would expect that approval was equally necessary for performance at a public sanctuary'.

mately associated with the patron's private home were probably performed in a more public and open festive sphere than their unassuming wording lets on.[67]

Whatever ritual or religious circumstances occasioned or were occasioned by performances of individual odes, they were without a doubt rooted in the local landscape. Evoking, naming, and pointing to its features heightened the beauty and sanctity of the setting, which in turn assured divine attention.

## 7 Conclusion

Looking back once more to *Olympian* 5, the implication in Pindar's captivating description of Camarina's surroundings, coupled with the topographical and geographic details evoking the athletic celebration and religious festivities in Olympia, comes into sharper focus. The intermingling of the two locales in the song's progression is not so unusual if we remember that Pindar has to 'bring home' from the victory site not only the human athlete himself, but also the divine favor and grace with which the victor has been 'crowned' in the athletic setting. Now that favor and grace needs to be reactivated, through the medium of the song in a public celebratory and festive setting, in order to situate the exceptional individual back into his home community and reunite him with the native surroundings.[68] The song's repeated journeys to the sites of the competitions and back, linking the splendor of two distinct places in a single moment of poetic performance, work to effect just such glorious homecoming (εὐκλεὴς νόστος, *Pyth.* 12.24).

Scholars have often pointed out that victorious athletes were considered to bring home with them the sacred, even talismanic power from the competitions and, by extension, were able to infuse with this power their family, friends, and the city itself.[69] Pindar's poetry clearly participates in this diffusion of blessings and I see his use of space as underscoring and further contributing to this function. Not only were the athletic competitions a part of the larger ritual and religious setting, but in constant and consistent poetic attempts to combine that setting and even merge it with the one of the hometown festivities, a further religious aspect would have been added to the occasion, the

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67 E.g., *Ol.* 1.8–11, *Nem.* 9.1–3, *Isthm.* 8.1–4. Cf. Carey 2007, 205: 'Pindar's feasts are probably grand affairs, and his representation of them as informal symposia is a fiction'.

68 Cf. Kurke 1991, 15–34 on the 'loop of *nostos*'.

69 Fontenrose 1968; Crotty 1982, 104–138.

aspect which in reality only the athlete and his closest companions and assistants would have experienced first-hand, but one which also—for the duration of the song—would have been experienced vicariously by anyone listening and visualizing.

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CHAPTER 15

# The Mythical Landscapers of Augustan Rome*

*Lissa Crofton-Sleigh*

## 1 Introduction

The term landscape, according to Denis Cosgrove, denotes 'the external world mediated through subjective human experience in a way that neither region nor area immediately suggest. Landscape is a construction, a composition of the world we see; in other words it is a way of seeing the world'. Cosgrove argues that, as a social and cultural product, this type of seeing is restrictive, diminishing alternative modes of experiencing our relations with nature.[1] And yet this restrictive nature of landscape and viewing landscape can generate meaning unique to a specific group of people, i.e., a shared remembrance or memory. As Susan Alcock observes, people derive identity from this shared memory, which can often be tied to the landscape. Collective identity is constituted in part from a 'community's longitudinal relationship to a particular locale … Stability in a landscape might enable, if not ensure, the maintenance of memories'.[2] The Romans in particular saw landscape in this way: the terrain around them was infused not only with memory but also with history. They believed that the gods played a significant role in their history and in the transformation of the landscape. The gods' role in shaping the Romans' natural surroundings turns them into 'landscape agents'.[3]

Hercules may be regarded as such an agent for the Romans and their landscape, as he was for certain regions of Greece. In one example, Pausanias narrates a Theban myth that describes how the hero diverted the river Cephisus,

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1 Cosgrove 1984, 13 (cited here), 269–270.

2 Alcock 2002, 1, 30, 31.

3 Conan 2003b, 16. Cf. also Gowing 2005, 132–159, Spencer 2010, and Rosati 2014, 74–75 on the relationship between landscape, monuments, and Roman memory and identity.

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so that it passed under a mountain and into the sea.[4] Hercules' association with rivers and mountains is heightened in Vergil's *Aeneid*. In *Aeneid* 8 Vergil develops and historicizes the myth surrounding Hercules' return with the cattle of Geryon. The laboring hero passes through Italy and more specifically, Pallanteum, or proto-Rome, on his way to Greece, and rids the land of the sly monster Cacus during his stay there. Vergil structures Hercules' elimination of his opponent and transformation of the landscape within an *aition* of Hercules' cult, narrated by Evander, king of the Arcadians, who happens to be performing the established cult rites at Hercules' own *Ara Maxima* (*Aen.* 8.271–272) when Aeneas arrives in search of a military ally.[5]

Hercules' act near Pallanteum enables the Arcadians, and eventually the Romans, to inhabit and flourish in the land (*Aen.* 8.51–54). Vergil's account begins and is centered on a depiction of the landscape, emphasizing the features of Cacus' cavernous dwelling in the mountain and its subsequent destruction by Hercules, which demonstrates physically how nature becomes 'civilized' and inhabitable. Vergil's concentration on Cacus, the proto-Roman landscape, and its transformation is an innovation in the myth of Hercules and Cacus, distinguishing it from other contemporary accounts, such as Livy (1.7), Propertius (4.9.1–20), and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Antiquitates Romanae* 1.39–41).[6] Each of these authors presents Cacus as a local herdsman and thief, fierce but not necessarily monstrous (and certainly not the son of a god), who steals the cattle from a sleeping Hercules and drags them backwards into his cave. Unlike Vergil, these accounts establish only a few basic details about the natural surroundings and do not dwell on the cave of Cacus or the transformation of the landscape.[7]

4 Paus. 9.38.6–8; see also 2.37.4. Stories of Hercules as hydraulic manipulator also exist in Diod. Sic. 4.18.4–6 and Str. 10.2.19. His most famous water diversion is perhaps that which was associated with the cleaning of the Augean stables (his fifth Labor). See Salowey 1994 and Stafford 2012, 10 (with additional bibliography).

5 On Evander's role and history in the *Aeneid*, see Jenkyns 1998, 516, 549–550 and Papaioannou 2003.

6 Although it is possible that the story of Hercules and Cacus occurred in literature as early as Stesichorus (Wiseman 2004, 26–28), extant accounts do not appear until the late first century BCE. For a recent discussion of these narratives, see Holzberg 2012; cf. Nagore and Pérez 1981 and Fox 1996.

7 In a chapter just preceding the story of Hercules and Cacus (*Ant. Rom.* 1.37), Dionysius presents an extensive description of the Italian land and its suitability for farming and grazing. Perhaps he considered it redundant to repeat these details within the Hercules and Cacus episode. We might also see the Italian landscape in *Ant. Rom.* 1.37 as an allusion to Vergil, not

Vergil's emphasis on landscape cannot be justified as a mere aetiological digression regarding the *Ara Maxima*, but in fact links the story with the themes underlying *Aeneid* 8, in particular the interrelationships between 'man, land, nature, nation, locality, identity, time, and history', which Jenkyns sees as one of Vergil's most profound and original achievements.[8] Often discussed are the 'creative anachronisms' in *Aeneid* 8, seen most vividly in Evander's tour of Pallanteum/Rome, which interweaves different temporal and spatial planes, combining Evander's narration with monuments of Vergil's day.[9] The account of Hercules and Cacus reflects similar multi-temporal and multi-spatial qualities. Vergil entwines three layers of time: the battle of Hercules and Cacus, Evander's narration of this myth to Aeneas, and Vergil's own interjections about Rome. The poet also weaves three layers of landscape: Cacus' cave in its original form, the cave as Evander and Aeneas see it, and contemporary Roman architectural forms. In doing so Vergil creates two kinds of landscape agent: Hercules represents the physical landscaper and Evander and Aeneas (through the eyes of Vergil) become what I call conceptual landscape agents. As they look upon the natural terrain, they shape and transform it into human landscapes of value by drawing upon their memories and personal experiences.[10]

Vision and memory play a significant role in the episode of Hercules and Cacus, but they are also driving forces behind Augustus' plan to refound and reshape Rome. The prominence of vision in Augustan texts such as the *Aeneid* can be seen as reflective of the visual imagery of the period.[11] Augustus sought to combine past glories and traditions (both visual and conceptual) with modern construction that would make Rome into a city of the future.[12] Vergil's narrative provides a worthy prototype for Augustus as retrofitter and civilizer of Rome: Hercules. The *Aeneid* also seemingly reshapes Rome through Vergil's

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only to the *Georgics* but also foreshadowing the Cacus episode and highlighting landscape as a significant theme within the Hercules-Cacus tradition.

8 Jenkyns 2013, 272.

9 On anachronism and/or multi-temporality in Vergil, see Rossi 2004, 179, 186–187 (with additional bibliography); also Smith 2005, 90–95; Jenkyns 2013, 273–274; Seider 2013, 53–54; Hardie 2014, 4, 145; Jenkyns 2014, 24–26. Both Jenkyns 2013, 126, 274 and Hardie 2014, 203 argue that Vergil defamiliarizes familiar spaces in a way that is both charming and fascinating.

10 Hardie 2014, 203 writes that Vergil's landscapes are 'charged with meaning and memory'. Smith 2005, 90–95, 148 claims that vision provides the connection between past and future in Vergil.

11 Smith 2005, 3. See also Zanker 1988.

12 Rea 2007, 5–6, 10 suggests that Vergil's layering of time and space works in conjunction with Augustus' plan for Rome. See also Favro 1996.

decision to place Cacus on the Aventine, contrary to other accounts (section 2). In this chapter, I will focus on how Vergil structures landscape and its overarching connections to Augustan Rome (section 3). After an examination of Ovid's close emulation of Vergil (section 4), I will sum up my findings (section 5).

## 2 The Vergilian Hercules and Cacus

### 2.1 *Vergil's Characterization of Cacus*

Vergil introduces an important new facet to Cacus' character, reinventing him as the son of a god:[13] 'Vulcan was the father of this monster: vomiting from his mouth the black fires of that god, he carried himself huge in mass' (*huic monstro Volcanus erat pater: illius atros / ore vomens ignis magna se mole ferebat*, Verg. *Aen.* 8.198–199).[14] The poet may have felt compelled to create an opponent suitable to fighting Hercules in an epic context, which he achieves in part by allusion to Homer's characterization of Polyphemus in *Odyssey* 9.[15] In *Aeneid* 3, Polyphemus' cave is described in terms very similar to those found in Vergil's depiction of Cacus' cavern: 'My forgetful comrades left me in the vast cave of the Cyclops, a huge house, dark within, filled with gore and bloody feasts' (*immemores socii vasto Cyclopis in antro / deseruere. domus sanie dapibusque cruentis, / intus opaca, ingens*, *Aen.* 3.617–619). It is a huge, bloody, vast cave, but most intriguingly, a 'house' (*domus*, 3.618). As we shall see, Cacus' cave is also called a *domus* (*Aen.* 8.192, 253), which might strike the reader as surprisingly human. Polyphemus and Cacus are not mere monsters; as the sons of deities (Neptune and Vulcan, respectively), they each exhibit quasi-human characteristics, which exacerbate the brutality of their gory deeds, killing (and eating) their own kind.[16] Vergil confirms the transgressive nature of Cacus with the descrip-

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13 On this Vergilian innovation, see, e.g., Münzer 1911; Galinsky 1972, 142; George 1974, 50–51; Jacobson 1989, 101; Johnston 1996, 59–60; Jenkyns 2013, 280. Small 1982, 4ff. refers to Etruscan legend, which features a 'beneficent seer' named Cacus. She also discusses the etymologies of Cacus and its false cognate κακός.

14 All translations are my own.

15 See Galinsky 1972, 145; Jacobson 1989; and Squire 2009, 226, among others. Münzer 1911, 36 refers to the caves of both characters as fortresses, but stresses that Vergil has to outdo Homer in his description. His thorough discussion of the similarities and differences in Vergil's and Homer's treatment of these two characters eliminates the need for additional discussion here. But it should be noted that the loftiness (ὑψηλόν, *Od.* 9.183) and largeness of Polyphemus' cave (*Od.* 9.219–224) find their place in Cacus' cave.

16 Gransden 1976, 39: 'Virgil's Cacus represents primitive man at his most bestial'. He also

tion 'half-human' (*semihominis*, 8.194). Cacus' cave, reflecting the nature of its half-man, half-beast inhabitant, similarly vacillates between human and natural landscape.

### 2.2 *The* domus Caci

Evander begins his narration by showing Aeneas what the former home of Cacus looks like now—scattered pieces of rock foreshadowing the defeat of Hercules' opponent.[17] Vergil, through the words of Evander, assumes the role of landscaper by retrojecting familiar contemporary structural features on the past, facilitating a closer connection to the mythical landscape for his Roman audience (*Aen.* 8.190–197):

> Now look first at this crag, vaulted by rocks,
> how rock masses have been scattered out at a distance,
> and how the house of the mountain stands abandoned,
> and how the cliffs were dragged down in immense ruin.
> Here was a cave, secluded in a deep recess,
> which the terrible figure of half-human Cacus used to occupy,
> unreached by the rays of the sun.
> The ground always used to be warm with fresh slaughter,
> and the yellowish faces of men, sadly rotting,
> were hanging nailed to the proud doors.
>
> iam primum saxis suspensam hanc aspice rupem,
> disiectae procul ut moles desertaque montis
> stat domus et scopuli ingentem traxere ruinam.
> hic spelunca fuit vasto summota recessu,
> semihominis Caci facies quam dira tenebat
> solis inaccessam radiis; semperque recenti
> caede tepebat humus, foribusque adfixa superbis
> ora virum tristi pendebant pallida tabo.

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acknowledges that Vulcan is considered an ambiguous deity, with powers for both good and evil, which could have generated the boundary-crossing nature of Cacus. Davies 2004, 34 agrees with Small 1982 that Cacus is portrayed as simultaneously good and evil, human and monster.

17 Galinsky 1966, 31, 34 (here cited): 'Rocks are lifted and fall down and thus symbolize, in books VIII and XII, the ascendancy of Aeneas and his mission as well as the downfall of the demonic characters Cacus and Turnus'.

*Rupes*, likely derived from *rumpo*, hints at Hercules' earlier action to create the current landscape: what was once a deep, recessed cave (*vasto summota recessu*, *Aen.* 8.193)[18] has now been transformed into an airy crag surrounded by strewn rock. But the crag still may have formed part of Cacus' cavern. The term *suspensam* indicates the presence of a roof, through which the sun cannot penetrate: the cave, like a house, admits no light from the top because it possesses a ceiling.[19] Yet this is no ordinary ceiling: *suspensam* is the ancient builder's technical term for vaulting, applied here to the natural cavern-roof.[20] Vergil's use of technical architectural vocabulary imposes a human frame on the natural structure. Rather than being comprised of a mere hole in a rock, Cacus' dwelling had a vaulted stone 'roof' or 'ceiling', similar to some of the concrete-vaulted structures in contemporary Rome, such as the Baths of Agrippa (completed 25 BCE) or the second-century House of the Griffins on the Palatine.[21] The inclusion here of the term *domus* (8.192) similarly establishes a quasi-human, and indeed quasi-Roman context.

Vergil depicts other domestic architectural features besides the roof. Cacus' earthen floor is a monstrous perversion of the floors of public baths and perhaps of some of the private floors in Vergil's time,[22] which would have been

18 Both Eden 1975 and Fordyce 2001 ad loc. mention that the adjective *vasto* has a sense of desolation as well as size. Fordyce adds that the desolation indicated by *vasto* repels or appalls. See also Jenkyns 2013, 279. According to Buxton 1992, 9–15, this repelling characteristic is inherent in mythical mountains themselves, which are home to outsiders, frightening places of transformation, and meant to be viewed from afar.

19 Of course Vergil may also be reiterating the dark, desolate nature of the cave. Vergil often employs *tectum* or *tecta*, 'covered/roofed', to refer to a house (Cf. *OLD* s.v. *tectum* 2); in this episode Vergil uses *detecta* (8.241) to describe Hercules' eventual uncovering of Cacus' lair.

20 Fordyce 2001 *ad* Verg. *Aen.* 8.190. Though *suspendere* is not mainly an architectural term, *suspensam* at *Aen.* 8.190 is cited as an example of its technical architectural meaning (*OLD* s.v. *suspendere* 4b 'to build on arches, vaulting, or sim.'). Cicero first uses *suspendere* in reference to hypocausts (*Hort.* fr. 76 = Non. 194.13). Hypocausts have small vaulted or arched spaces, as Cacus' cave has here. See Fagan 1996, 57–58.

21 The Greeks were similarly concerned with the connection of past and present landscapes; the Pelasgian wall in Athens, for example, and the stories surrounding it 'appeal to a deep past of early historical events, the narration of which articulates current tensions, claims and grievances in an historically grounded dimension' (McInerney 2014, 34).

22 Vitr. 5.10.1–2 describes how a hypocaust works as well as how to build it within his section on public baths. In 7.1.1–7, he lays out the steps for creating durable pavement, a mixture of wood and rock, with slabs or tesserae laid out on top and sealed by lime, so as to eliminate the possibility of moisture seeping in.

heated by a hypocaust. Instead the ground here is warmed by the blood of humans and/or animals that Cacus has killed. Scarth sees the blood as representative of volcanic elements in the cave, particularly molten lava:

> The lair of Cacus is modeled on the deep, dark crater of a spatter cone, enclosed by an overhanging rampart of spatter, where the typical spluttering of erupting splatter seems to be echoed in the repetitions of s and p. Broken fragments are strewn in the air, like spatter scattered in the craters; and it reeks with fresh blood (8.195–196), which molten lava often resembles as it cools.[23]

Scarth also notes the former volcanic activity in the region of the Aventine, where this cave is located. Vergil seemingly alludes to the natural proclivities of the land within the context of Cacus' monstrosity. Cacus not only resides in one of the dominant natural features of the area, but at times embodies that feature, vomiting forth the black fires of his father Vulcan.[24]

In addition to the vaulted roof and warm ground, Cacus' cave contains multiple doors (8.196–197). Surprisingly, Cacus has constructed actual doors behind the typical large boulder found at monsters' caves.[25] Because they are referred to as *foribus superbis*, scholars have linked these doors to two other sets of doors, one of which is found later in *Aeneid* 8—those of the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine, to which Augustus attached the gifts of the people: 'The man himself, seated on the snow-white threshold of shining Phoebus, examines the gifts of the nations and fixes them to the proud doors' (*ipse sedens niveo candentis limine Phoebi / dona recognoscit populorum aptatque superbis / postibus*, 8.720–722). Cacus' doors also recall the doors of Priam's palace in *Aeneid* 2: 'Those doorways, proud with barbaric gold and spoils, were brought low' (*barbarico postes auro spoliisque superbi / procubuere*, 2.504–505). Cacus' quasi-human doors render him comparable to the most proud and powerful of all men, the leaders of countries, not simply by the existence of the doors but also by the tokens of achievement attached to them. Yet Cacus' tokens are the 'rotting, yellowish faces of men' whom he has killed (*ora virum … pallida tabo*, 8.197), a perverse imitation of the gold and gifts upon the others' doors. The sight of Cacus' doors may evoke horror and disgust in a human observer, but for Cacus the doors and their accessories

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23 Scarth 2000, 601–602.

24 Cf. Hardie 1986, 116. See also Sullivan 1972.

25 Eden 1975 *ad* Verg. *Aen.* 8.225.

are a source of pride. Similar to Augustus and Priam, Cacus rules over the surrounding terrain and displays the evidence of his prowess over his enemies.[26]

Once Cacus is caught, however, the thief damages his father Vulcan's defense mechanism in his haste to evade Hercules: 'He shut himself in, and having broken the chains, cast down the enormous rock, which was hanging there by means of iron and his father's skill, and fortified the doors which were given additional support by the barricade' (*sese inclusit ruptisque immane catenis / deiecit saxum, ferro quod et arte paterna / pendebat, fultosque emuniit obice postis*, *Aen.* 8.225–227).[27] Fordyce calls this mechanism the first use of the 'portcullis,' recognized primarily as the protector of medieval castles, but known in the Roman period as the *cataracta* and employed to defend cities.[28] Vergil applies a contemporary military defense tool to home protection, creating a kind of mythological aetiology for it.

### 2.3 *Evander's Focalization*

Vergil positions Evander as a 'secondary narrator-focalizer',[29] who employs visual and verbal cues to prompt Aeneas and the reader to infer that he was

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26 The association between Cacus and Augustus is striking yet troublesome, perhaps demonstrating Cacus' human side but not excluding a possible monstrous side to the *princeps*. On the relationship between Augustus and Cacus, see, e.g., Lyne 1987, 27–35; Putnam 1988, 173; Morgan 1998, 178–179. Connections have also been drawn to the doors of Augustus' house, to which he affixed oak wreaths.

27 Here we are reminded of the human side of the monster, as Cacus looks for help and protection to his father, Vulcan, god of metal craftsmanship, who has constructed an impressive defense mechanism by forging and arranging the chains so that they hold up the huge boulder. Vulcan's *ars paterna* is *ferrum*: he takes care of his son in the way he knows best, devising metal apparatus to protect Cacus and his *domus*. Vulcan's invention and its civilizing nature may have a precedent in the *Homeric Hymn to Hephaestus*, which lauds the god as the means by which humans developed from beasts living in caves to civilized men in homes. Yet Cacus' breaking of the chains alludes to his more uncivilized side and, according to Galinsky 1966, 35, has made the outcome of the combat rather definite.

28 Fordyce 2001 *ad* Verg. *Aen.* 8.225. Livy (27.28.10–11) writes of the first truly historical appearance of the *cataracta* in his account of the Second Punic War. Hannibal approached the city of the Salapians in 208 BCE, but the city was protected by the heavy portcullis, which, as Livy describes, must be lifted by levers and pulleys pulled by various men. It was a remarkable and successful defense mechanism that would continue to be used, along with stone and/or concrete walls, to guard cities such as Pompeii throughout the Roman period.

29 De Jong 2014, 50.

present during the battle of Hercules and Cacus and observed exactly how and where the landscape was transformed. In the first line of his story, he captures Aeneas' attention with the phrase *primum … aspice* (*Aen.* 8.190), which defines the exact battle landscape and also highlights the new visibility of the natural cavern feature.[30] As Evander and Aeneas view the cave, Evander's description, with its architectural terminology, shapes the natural terrain into landscape significant to the Romans.[31] Evander then reiterates that this battle by the Tiber has an audience of immigrant Arcadians: 'Then for the first time our people saw Cacus shaken up, with fear in his eyes' (*tum primum nostri Cacum videre timentem / turbatumque oculis*, *Aen.* 8.222–223). Cacus unseen in his dark cave is perceived as a fearsome monster, but Cacus, as he views Hercules raging towards him, is observed by the Arcadians for the first time as fearful, less monstrous, and conquerable. The vision is in fact threefold, consisting of the vision of the Arcadians watching Cacus seeing Hercules as the battle happens and the vision and memory of Evander resetting the scene for Aeneas. Once again we are reminded of Vergil's temporal and spatial layering.

Later, as Hercules searches for his missing cattle, Evander's eyewitness account, drawing from memory, pinpoints how Hercules observes and navigates the landscape to determine his path to Cacus (*Aen.* 8.228–232, cited and discussed further below).[32] Evander's interjection 'Behold!' (*ecce,* 8.228) focuses attention on the exact motion and place in the landscape, compelling Aeneas (and the reader) to 'see' and imagine Hercules' frenzied search. Yet Evander's *ecce* also directs the viewer towards the heated emotions of Hercules (*furens … dentibus infrendens … fervidus ira,* 8.228–230). Hercules' rage likens him to Cacus and his fiery tendencies, problematizing associations between the hero

30 *Primum* accentuates the recent nature of the visibility: it is as if for the first time Evander and Aeneas actually see the crag that was once hidden deep within the mountain. Cf. George 1974, 59.

31 De Jong's discussion (2014, 60–65) of 'spatial standpoint' can be applied to Evander's description of the cave and landscape, which occupies an 'actorial panoramic standpoint' (61), in which a secondary narrator offers a panoramic view of the scene around him. Yet the Roman allusions I discussed above can be called examples of 'embedded focalization' (de Jong 2014, 50–56), as Evander presents details (inserted by the primary narrator Vergil) which contain additional meaning for a Roman audience.

32 Conan 2003c, 287 discusses the importance of the observer for motion in landscape: space and motion are remembered because the observer 'exercises self-awareness and memory'. Unlike time, space is not divisible into numerable intervals, but requires observation and memory to be remembered.

and Aeneas or Augustus.[33] Yet his emotion, described so visually by Evander, precipitates the transformation of nature into a landscape of memory for Evander, and subsequently, Aeneas and the Romans.

### 2.4 *Hercules as Proto-Roman Landscaper*

Hercules is introduced into the episode as he travels triumphantly with the recently acquired cattle of Geryon (*Aen.* 8.201–204):

> For Hercules, the greatest avenger, appeared,
> proud from killing triple-bodied Geryon and gaining spoils.
> The victor was leading the large bulls to this place,
> and the cattle were occupying the valley and the river.

> … nam maximus ultor
> tergemini nece Geryonae spoliisque superbus
> Alcides aderat taurosque hac victor agebat
> ingentis, vallemque boves amnemque tenebant.

Like Cacus and his doors, Hercules too is proud of his spoils (note end position of *superbus* here as at *Aen.* 8.196, 8.721, and 2.504). Hercules' role as a herdsman associates him with the land, specifically with proto-Rome, grazing his cattle in the valley near the Aventine, close to the later Forum Boarium and the river that would be called Tiber. Cacus serves as foil to the good herdsman by stealing the cattle and locking them within his cave. He tricks Hercules' powers of sight by reversing the footsteps of the cattle, confusing the hero as to the direction in which they are headed. Yet sound aids sight: one of them moos from within the vast cave and betrays Cacus' misdeed, at which sign an enraged Hercules charges Cacus and his cavern (*Aen.* 8.228–232):

> Behold the Tirynthian hero approached, raging in his mind,
> and scouring every access point he bore himself here and there,
> gnashing his teeth. Fiery with anger,
> three times he roamed the whole hill of the Aventine,
> three times he tested the rocky thresholds to no avail,
> three times he sat down in the valley, exhausted.

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33 As argued by Labate 2009, esp. 129–134, suggesting that as many, if not more, similarities lie between Hercules and Cacus (including their fury) as between Hercules and Aeneas. Cf. Morgan 1998, 181–192.

ecce furens animis aderat Tirynthius omnemque
accessum lustrans huc ora ferebat et illuc,
dentibus infrendens. ter totum fervidus ira
lustrat Aventini montem, ter saxea temptat
limina nequiquam, ter fessus valle resedit.

Hercules uses the power of sight and surveying, traversing the whole hill three separate times, to determine the best visible point of entry into the cave, but his sight fails. His strength likewise fails in his unsuccessful attempt to move the boulder guarding the entrance of the cave. The landscape proves uncooperative, protecting its inhabitant Cacus within the mountain.

Hercules finds no other way to penetrate the cave than to tear off the peak of the mountain in which it lies (*Aen.* 8.233–240):

A giant stone peak stood there,
rising up along the side of the cave with cut rock on all sides,
the tallest point to see, a suitable dwelling for horrible birds in their nests.
Where this crag leaned left toward the river, overhanging the mountain,
Hercules' striving right hand forced it in the opposite direction
and broke it away, torn out from its deepest roots,
and suddenly he pushed it down from there;
at this blow the whole sky thundered,
the banks leapt apart and the terrified river flowed back in the other direction.

stabat acuta silex praecisis undique saxis
speluncae dorso insurgens, altissima visu,
dirarum nidis domus opportuna volucrum.
hanc, ut prona iugo laevum incumbebat ad amnem,
dexter in adversum nitens concussit et imis
avulsam solvit radicibus, inde repente
impulit; impulsu quo maximus intonat aether,
dissultant ripae refluitque exterritus amnis.

Here Vergil includes the motif of redirecting the river, as we saw with the river Cephisus, yet Vergil fashions the redirection as a reaction of nature. Hercules' assault on the land shocks and frightens the different elements of nature, throwing them into disarray. His attack also demonstrates that a superhuman

agent is present.[34] The transgressive status of Hercules, similar to Cacus, is echoed in his crossing between worlds, traversing from light, earthly landscape to the dark depths of a huge realm below, revealed by the hero's extraction of the peak. Vergil likens the newly opened *cavernae* to the underworld (*Aen.* 8.243–246), the shades of which flee the light.[35] The enormous *barathrum* ('abyss', 8.245)[36] represents the most terrifying aspects of the natural landscape, in particular because these elements are typically unseen and thereby unknown.[37] Their sudden visibility foreshadows the imminent demise of Cacus, as he will soon become a shade like those in the underworld.[38]

As Hercules leaps into the cave, Cacus resorts to one final survival tactic: he fills the cave with smoke vomited from his own throat (*Aen.* 8.251–255):

> But Cacus—for there was no longer any refuge from the danger above—
> vomited an immense smoke from his throat (marvelous to speak of)
> and filled the house with dark gloom, blinding the eyes,
> and within the cave below he collected smoky night,
> where darkness intermingled with fire.
>
> ille autem, neque enim fuga iam super ulla pericli,
> faucibus ingentem fumum (mirabile dictu)
> evomit involvitque domum caligine caeca
> prospectum eripiens oculis, glomeratque sub antro
> fumiferam noctem commixtis igne tenebris.

Cacus once more embodies the volcanic energy of the land around him, his home.[39] The verb *glomerat* signals the final collapse of the home. What was

34 For Miller 2014, 456 n. 58, 'the more benevolent response of nature to the Salian song of Hercules' exploits (*consonant … resultant* [Verg. *Aen.* 8.305]) provides a "restorative" counterpoint to nature's frightened reaction, in Evander's telling, to Hercules' violent assault upon Cacus' lair'.

35 See Schubert 1991, 45–50 on the connections to the underworld.

36 For more on the term *barathrum* and the connection of karstic features to the underworld, see Connors and Clendenon 2012, esp. 343–345, and the chapter by Julie Baleriaux in this volume.

37 Kuttner 2003, 153: 'Roman eyes, shooting out rays to grab at the surrounding world, were active. Romans equated seeing with knowing'.

38 See Smith 2005, 151.

39 Cf. Buchheit 1963, 128–130; Morgan 1998, 191–192; and the chapter by Richard Buxton in this volume.

a vast, towering structure has been shrunk into a dark hole and is now collected into a dense mass, where smoke makes everything resemble rock. Dashing through the blinding smoke, Hercules finds and vanquishes his opponent. According to Münzer, once Hercules kills Cacus, he leaves the place a 'stony desert' (*Steinwüste*),[40] bearing little trace of its former home, a desert which Evander then shows Aeneas (*disiectae procul … moles*, *Aen.* 8.191). Hercules' destruction of the natural landscape can be construed as problematic, but his action enables the land to become civilized and domesticated by the Arcadians. The violent destruction is paradoxically constructive and creative.[41] A reader might be tempted to observe parallels between Hercules' constructive destruction and Roman military conquest, destroying and rebuilding cities in Roman fashion, and most particularly the recent wars between Antony and Augustus. The problematic nature of Hercules' conquest may correspond to the problematic destruction of civil war, accentuated by Evander's focalization of Hercules' terrifying rage as avenger for his cattle (perhaps echoing Augustus' rage as the avenger of Julius Caesar).[42] Yet Evander's overall account of the episode (especially *Aen.* 8.200–201) portrays the rage and destruction of Hercules as necessary to the salvation of the land, a message which Augustus may have found suitable to offer to the Romans after the civil wars. Rome and Roman identity, according to Vergil, could not have existed in the same way if the Arcadians had been unable to survive in that area. The landscape takes on an ontological capacity;[43] its existence in the condition Hercules leaves it paves the way for Roman existence, and thereby creates a landscape of value to the Romans.

## 3 Hercules and Augustan Rome

Vergil's account relates not only the origin of Hercules' cult in Rome but also the 'natural' origin of one of Rome's most iconic historic hills, the Aventine, home to many of Rome's citizens.[44] Without the leveling of Cacus' cavern, no one would have been able to build on the Aventine. Yet Cacus was traditionally

40 Münzer 1911, 33.

41 Morgan 1998, 185–186, 190. He argues further that the paradox is a deliberate choice by Vergil, who posits the battle of Hercules and Cacus as a mythical model for the civil wars.

42 On Augustus' rage, cf. Sen. *Clem.* 1.11.1.

43 On the ontological aspect and experience of landscape, see Conan 2003c, 302.

44 On the residential history of the Aventine, see Mignone 2010. On the integration of mountains into stories of civilization, see the chapters by Richard Buxton and Jason König in this volume.

believed to have dwelled on the Palatine: Diodorus Siculus and Plutarch locate his cave there.[45] In addition, the ancient *Scalae Caci* led up to the Palatine.[46] Vergil instead situates Cacus and his cave on the Aventine (*Aventini montem*, *Aen.* 8.231). This could allow for Evander's settlement to reign supreme on the Palatine, as a precursor to Augustus' house on the Palatine.[47] But Vergil's choice for the Aventine also imparts value to this hill in other ways. Hercules' elimination of Cacus has been connected to Romulus killing Remus, who preferred the Aventine Hill, suggesting that internally eliminated threats to Rome typically came from the Aventine.[48] Furthermore, the Aventine boasts a significant connection to Hercules, whose son Aventinus provides the hill with its name (*Aen.* 7.655–663).[49]

I wish to suggest, in addition, that Hercules' landscape creation and his scattering of stones (*disiectae … moles*, *Aen.* 8.191) find a contemporary counterpart in the prominence of marbles in the Aventine landscape.[50] The region of the Aventine was also called *Marmorata* (literally, 'marbled') because this was one of the main offloading points for marble in ancient Rome.[51] I suggest that the rocks created by Hercules' labors could seem to prefigure the marble blocks quarried from the mountains at Luni, Carrara, and other locales, which were then shipped to Rome and offloaded from the Tiber near the Aventine.[52] In a

45 Diod. Sic. 4.21.2; Plut. *Rom.* 20.4. On these sources, see Eden 1975 *ad* Verg. *Aen.* 8.190 ff. and Tueller 2000, 376–378. Spencer 2010, 29 also favors the Palatine over the Aventine.

46 The *Scalae Caci* were perhaps named after the republican man Cacius who lived there, found in Diod. Sic. 4.21.2. See also Kuttner 2003, 149.

47 Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.31.4: the Romans derived the word *Palatium* from Pallanteum. Dionysius also describes how Evander founded the cult to Pan, the site of which Romans call the Lupercal, located on the Palatine (1.32.3–5).

48 Morgan 1998, 186.

49 Servius *ad* Verg. *Aen.* 7.657 records an Alban king named Aventinus, who died on the hill and may have been its eponym. The commentator also argues that Hercules' son was named after the hill, not vice versa.

50 Perhaps the Romans would also have seen a resemblance in the fragmentary *Mons Testaceus*. Its parallels with the Aventine include its nearby location, similar physical resemblance to the scattered marbles on the Aventine, and its existence as a visual symbol of thriving commerce in imperial Rome.

51 Coarelli 2007, 335.

52 There is a potential textual link. The peak which Hercules eventually extracts is described as having 'stones sheared off' (*praecisis saxis, Aen.* 8.233) and being located near the river Tiber (*incumbebat ad amnem, Aen.* 8.236). Though *praecidere* is seemingly not attested as a term for quarrying marble until the early church fathers (*ThLL* s.v.), its root *caedere*, in the sense 'to quarry' (*OLD* s.v. 9), first appears in Cicero (*Verr.* 2.1.147).

way Hercules has provided the raw materials and the method by which Rome will be re-civilized and rebuilt on a grander scale, establishing a specific means of interaction with the natural landscape that links him to the later Romans. As Spencer observes, 'consciousness and memory together—and thereby humanity and, ultimately, Roman identity—are only possible in a laborious world where work depends on experience and therefore on knowledge and continuity of practice'.[53] The Romans create a continuity of landscape practice by following the example of Hercules.

Vergil's Hercules finds further parallels in Augustus.[54] Some have written that Hercules is the mythical paradigm of Augustus or that associating Augustus with Hercules makes the former 'godlike'. They are also both represented as bringers of peace and civilization to the area of Rome. Hercules is a savior and civilizer, having removed the barbaric monster Cacus.[55] Augustan propaganda idealized the *princeps* as a savior and civilizer, who removed the barbaric 'foreign' threat from Rome at the Battle of Actium.[56] Augustus deliberately associates himself with Hercules by beginning the triple triumph celebrating the defeat of Egypt and Antony on or around the same day (13 August) as the annual celebration of the *Ara Maxima* in the Forum Boarium.[57]

In addition, Hercules' civilizing destruction of the proto-Roman landscape resonates strongly in an Augustan context: Augustus can be considered a 'civilizer' by engendering change in the topography of Rome. Because Rome had involved itself in numerous foreign and domestic wars, the city had little money to spend on refurbishing its physical image. Zanker's and Favro's accounts of Rome's ragged appearance at the beginning of Augustus' reign make it plausible to suggest that Rome may have looked very similar to the proto-Roman

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53 Spencer 2010, 44.

54 On this debate, see, e.g., Bellen 1963; Galinsky 1966; Galinsky 1972, 138–141; Gransden 1976, 38; Lyne 1987, 28–34; Putnam 1988, 173; Schubert 1991, 44, 54; Hardie 1993, 67; Morgan 1998; Rea 2007, 119–122; Stafford 2012, 153; Holzberg 2012, 450–451; Hardie 2014, 129.

55 Schubert 1991, 50, 53 comments upon this scene as the triumph of good (Hercules) over evil (Cacus). See Gransden 1976, 38 and *ad* Verg. *Aen.* 8.190–305; Lyne 1987, 29; Galinsky 1972, 149; McEwen 2003, 115–121; Rea 2007, 118–120; Stafford 2012, 51; and Rosati 2014, 74–75 on Hercules as the civilizing god. Rea comments on the importance of *labor* linking Hercules, Augustus, and Aeneas; see also McGushin 1964, 232–239.

56 Putnam 1988, 173. Cf. Morgan 1998, 182. In his chapter on Ovid in Tomi in this volume, Christoph Pieper argues that Augustus was not seen as a civilizer outside of Rome. Ovid stresses that culture is a more powerful tool than warfare for 'Romanization'.

57 For discussion of these simultaneous events, see Galinsky 1972, 140–141; Rea 2007, 120. Augustus may have also found this date particularly fitting since the family of Marc Antony claimed they were *Heracleidae* (Plut. *Ant.* 4.1).

Aventine that Aeneas saw with Evander: broken, scattered pieces of barbaric housing, like the remnants of Cacus' cave.[58] Galinsky remarks, 'the semihomo Cacus stands for a barbaric, uncivilized stage of evolution'.[59] His cave reflects his own evolution in that it lacks the traditional luxuries and materials of a civilized home.[60] Hercules' destruction of Cacus' home allows for new construction to take place and civilization to develop. Augustus, in using the marble stored at that same place, is able to bring Rome to a new level of 'civilized', by removing old ruins and fashioning a magnificent, gleaming city built of lavish materials.

## 4 Hercules and Cacus in Ovid

Ovid also depicts the Hercules-Cacus myth in *Fasti* 1.543–582.[61] This episode is included within the feast day of the Carmentalia,[62] celebrating the prophetess Carmentis, mother of Evander. Though Ovid incorporates elements of other versions of the Cacus episode, his representation reflects the 'consciously Vergilian manner in which Ovid has chosen to relate the myth',[63] including a

58 Zanker 1988, 18–19; Favro 1996, 42. Cf. Aug. *Mon. Anc.* 19–20, where Augustus describes the extent of the construction and reconstruction.

59 Galinsky 1966, 40. Gransden 1976, 38 names Cacus as a 'symbol of barbarism'.

60 Evander's Palatine home (and the rest of proto-Rome) may have been primitive and lacking of luxuries, but this was due in part to a reverence for modesty and simplicity, which Hercules is said to have appreciated (*Aen.* 8.364–365). Augustus' own home on the Palatine reflected that same modesty.

61 Scholars have noted a change in length and tone in Ovid's version of the Hercules-Cacus episode as compared to Vergil's account, which some attribute to the difference in genre (Vergil's epic vs. Ovid's 'didactic' elegy; see Otis 1966, 31–36; Miller 2002, 189–192). Others have considered the difference in time period, one at the beginning and the other at the end of Augustus' reign (cf. Herbert-Brown 1994, 27; Newlands 1992, 44; Newlands 1995, 9–10; Barchiesi 1997, 199–200), or the difference in purpose (Schubert 1991, 43; Fantham 1992, 162; Green 2004 *ad* Ov. *Fast.* 1.469–542; Murgatroyd 2005, 37). In contrast, Green 2004 *ad* Ov. *Fast.* 1.543–582 (also *ad* 469–542 and *ad* 551–558) argues that Ovid's adaptation retains the serious tone of Vergil and is equally dramatic. Otis 1966, 34 considers the description of Cacus and his lair to be an 'interruption' in the narrative (see also Schubert 1991, 42), but Green counters that instead it builds tension and drama before the ensuing action within the cave.

62 Here Ovid may have borrowed from Livy, who similarly connects the *Ara Maxima* with Carmenta. See also Green 2004, 8.

63 Green 2004 *ad* Ov. *Fast.* 1.543–582.

significant focus on the landscape. In Ovid's explanation of the Carmentalia, the poet quickly turns from Carmentis' prophesies about war, Aeneas, and the Augustan household (similar to Anchises foretelling the future to Aeneas in *Aeneid* 6) to an introduction of the landscape.[64] Evander's position as an exile is suddenly assuaged by his new locale; as he steps onto the Latian grass (*Latia … herba*, Ov. *Fast.* 1.539), he feels fortunate to be situated in this place (*felix, exilium cui locus ille fuit*, 1.540).[65] Evander is then presented (indirectly) as a physical landscape agent as he constructs a new settlement on the Palatine (*nec mora longa fuit: stabant nova tecta*, 1.541), shaping the site that would become a prominent feature of Rome.

The mention of grass as the first natural feature emphasizes the suitability of the land for grazing, which explains why Hercules would soon choose to stop here (1.543–546). As he introduces Hercules, Ovid employs the verbal (and visual) cues *ecce* and *illuc* (1.543), echoing Evander's *aspice* (*Aen.* 8.190) and *ecce* (*Aen.* 8.228), to direct the audience's attention to an exact point in the landscape. However, the events recounted by Vergil through the eyewitness account of the elderly Evander are in fact presently happening in Ovid,[66] producing a more vivid narration that precedes the time of Vergil's account. Ovid removes a layer of narration by offering the reader an opportunity to view the episode of Cacus and Hercules as it actually occurs and as Evander witnesses it, not as he remembers it.

Hercules' ineptitude as a herdsman in leaving the cattle unattended allows Cacus to remove two of the animals (*Fast.* 1.547–550), dragging them backwards into his cave. Ovid's Cacus retains many of the same features highlighted in Vergil: he is the monstrous, terrifying son of Vulcan (552–554) who can breathe fire (569–572).[67] Ovid repeats the exact phrase *dira facies* (553) seen in *Aeneid*

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64 It is unclear whether Carmentis remains the narrator or Ovid becomes the omniscient narrator for the story of Hercules and Cacus. Murgatroyd 2005, 36 suggests that Ovid retains Carmentis as narrator as a playful way of bettering Vergil, in that the mother will correct and revise her son's telling of the story.

65 Evander's place of exile might seem very familiar: he has moved from the cave-rich landscape of Arcadia to the cave-rich landscape of Italy.

66 Green 2004 *ad* Ov. *Fast.* 1.469–542. See also Fantham 1992, 155, 160.

67 Ovid heightens the Vergilian innovation of Cacus embodying volcanoes and volcanic action by directly comparing Cacus to Mount Etna as well as fire-breathing Typhoeus: 'as many times as he breathes flames, you would believe that Typhoeus is blowing and that a swift lightning flash would be hurled from the fire of Etna' (*quas quotiens proflat, spirare Typhoea credas / et rapidum Aetnaeo fulgur ab igne iaci*, 573–574). The explicit naming of Etna reassociates Cacus with his father Vulcan, who, in some myths, establishes his metal

8.194, but changes the nature of Cacus from *semihomo* to *vir*. Cacus now is not merely half-human, but fully man. Ovid's complete humanization of Cacus creates an even more horrific, evil monster in the tale: a fully human being who commits terrible acts against his fellow mankind.[68]

Ovid shapes his discussion of the cave (*Fast.* 1.555–564) with language clearly recalling Vergil. Cacus lives in a huge cavern with recesses (*spelunca recessibus, Fast.* 1.555; cf. *recessu, Aen.* 8.193) that is removed (*abdita, Fast.* 1.556, cf. *summota, Aen.*8.193) from civilized society. *Domus* in Vergil (*Aen.* 8.192, 253) seemingly emphasizes the human aspects of the home of Cacus. But Ovid has altered Vergil's sense of *domus* by prefacing it with 'instead of' (*proque domo, Fast.* 1.555). Green observes that Cacus is 'placed outside the sphere of civilized conduct in both the symbolic and geographical sense'.[69] As a man, Cacus ought to live in a house, but he does not. Instead he dwells in a cave more suited to wild animals, yet even they cannot find it.[70] In this way Ovid portrays Cacus as more bestial than wild beasts.

As part of this more monstrous characterization, Ovid has omitted many of the contemporary Roman architectural details featured in Vergil's description of Cacus' cave, which transformed a natural cavern into human landscape and presented a more human dimension of Vergil's Cacus. Yet he retains the doors and their decoration motif. *Fasti* 1.557–558 reflect the diction of *Aeneid* 8.195–197, with the reappearance of the words *ora, adfixa, pendent,* and *humus*. Ovid's Cacus adds another item to the doors' decoration, armbones, which serve to further stress the bestiality of Cacus. Ovid's heads and armbones seemingly allude to the heads and hands of proscribed men killed during the period of the Second Triumvirate, i.e., the civil wars.[71] The association with

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workshop in the base of Etna. In doing so Ovid conflates the destructive nature of fire with its constructive powers in metalworking and the creation of tools and weapons. On Etna's volcanic tendencies, see the chapter by Richard Buxton in this volume.

68 Green 2004 *ad* Ov. *Fast.* 1.543–582 remarks that Ovid's additions in detail to Vergil's account create a more acute binary opposition between Hercules (good) and Cacus (evil). Barchiesi 1997, 96 notes that Hercules is about to become a god just after this episode in the *Fasti*; thus he is still human at this point. Only by showing his superiority over fellow human beings does he really seem to become worthy of ascending to divine status. See Schubert 1991, 47–48, 50–51 and Merli 2000, 294 for more on Cacus' humanization in Ovid.

69 Green 2004 *ad* Ov. *Fast.* 1.551–558.

70 This would seem to trump the sun's inability to access Cacus' cave in Vergil (*Aen.* 8.195).

71 This draws a potentially troublesome parallel between Cacus and the warrior Octavian, *pace* Holzberg 2012, 458, who claims that Ovid here glorifies Augustus without irony or subversion. Narducci 2009, 9 observes a parallel between descriptions of Cicero's death and Cacus' doors in *Aeneid* 8.

civil warfare is strengthened by Ovid's description of the ground. The same phrase *ossibus albet humus* describes both Cacus' floor and the battleground at Philippi (*Fast.* 3.708). The ground whitened by bones is a motif found mostly to refer to mass human destruction after warfare, and the fact that this motif is used here to describe genocide stemming from one individual only adds to Cacus' monstrous nature.[72] In fact, the unnaturalness of the white in the otherwise dark cave points out more clearly the heinous crimes committed within.

The nature of Cacus' crimes is also reflected in Ovid's description of the cave (*antra*) as *impia* (*Fast.* 1.562), ascribing a moral quality to the natural feature.[73] The personification of the cave's nature transforms it into a human landscape, evaluated and judged by Ovid's narrator. The cave exhibits the terrible crimes of Cacus, and thus it too shows no regard for morality. Yet not only has Cacus terrorized mankind, he also seemingly wrongs nature itself, by tearing out a part of the mountain in which he resides, to serve as the cavern blockade against Hercules (*aditum fracti praestruxerat obice montis*, *Fast.* 1.563; cf. *fultosque emuniit obice postis*, Verg. *Aen.* 8.227).[74] Cacus too is represented as an agent of the landscape, manipulating natural features for his own benefit. Ovid qualifies Cacus' labor by stating that ten oxen scarcely could have moved this piece of rock (*Fast.* 1.564). The magnitude of his labor as compared to that of oxen emphasizes his violence and bestial nature.

But Hercules, as a hero and eventual deity, possesses the same strength (*Fast.* 1.565–568):

> Hercules strained with his shoulders (on which the
> the sky too had once rested) and by that effort
> he loosened the enormous load. As it toppled over,
> the crash frightened heaven itself, and the ground,
> having been struck, sank under the weight of the mass.

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72 Green 2004 *ad* Ov. *Fast.* 1.557–558.

73 Cf. the 'savage doors' (*implacidas … fores*) in Prop. 4.9.14. Ovid may also be alluding to the *arma … impia* (Verg. *Aen.* 6.612–613) of civil war.

74 Cacus' tearing of rock resembles what Hercules does against him in the *Aeneid*. This is, of course, similar to the giant rock Polyphemus uses in *Od.* 9. Green 2004 *ad* Ov. *Fast.* 1.563 cites this line as an example of emphatic hyperbole, likening Cacus to monstrous giants, which allows it to ascend to the cosmic scale of Vergil's account. Contrast Schubert 1991, 47, 57, who writes that the lack of Vulcan's help makes the cave seem more realistic.

nititur hic umeris (caelum quoque sederat illis),
    et vastum motu conlabefactat onus.
quod simul eversum est, fragor aethera terruit ipsum,
    ictaque subsedit pondere molis humus.

The hero forces the rock out of the way, disturbing nature by the crash of the stone, which is so impactful that the sky itself is shaken up. The movement of the rock also causes the ground to be leveled under the weight of the stony mass. Once Cacus is struck dead by Hercules' club (*Fast.* 1.575–576),[75] his fatal plunge serves to further level the ground by beating it down with his large chest (1.577–578). Just as Hercules' removal of the rock in *Aeneid* 8 allows the Aventine to be more easily domesticated and inhabitable, likewise here the flattening of the Aventine facilitates future construction on the hill. The violent destruction can again be construed as constructive and creative.

Ovid describes the establishment of the *Ara Maxima* in greater detail than Vergil (*Fast.* 1.579–582). Hercules sacrifices one of the cattle to Jupiter in order to show his appreciation for the victory but also in a likely effort to appease the god for any harm done to nature or the gods themselves. In this way he would seem to mitigate the violent nature of his actions, thereby civilizing them. The hero then sets up an altar to himself (*constituitque sibi, quae Maxima dicitur, aram*, 1.581),[76] possibly using the rock he moved to create a physical altar. Hercules not only establishes the practice of cult religion and rituals in Rome, but once again he can be seen as providing a possible model for the use of stone and other natural features in the topography of the proto-Roman (and future Roman) landscape. Ovid connects the *Ara Maxima* to Rome, specifying its location in the Forum Boarium in the next line: 'here, where a part of the City derives its name from a cow' (*hic ubi pars Urbis de bove nomen habet*, 1.582). In this way the poet reintroduces the multi-temporality mostly overlooked in the rest of his account of Hercules and Cacus (as opposed to Vergil's narrative, where the layers of time and space are continuously highlighted). The story of Hercules and Cacus impacts both the generation of Evander and also the generations to come, including the age of Augustus, which is prophesied earlier in the narrative by Carmentis. The prophetess reemerges at the end of the narrative here to foretell Hercules' future as a god as well as be celebrated for her

75 Here Ovid follows the versions of Livy, Propertius, and Dionysius. Vergil's Hercules strangles Cacus until his eyes rupture.

76 Barchiesi 1997, 95–98 labels this line as Ovid's greatest innovation in the Hercules-Cacus episode, in that Hercules himself establishes his own cult, a point vaguely glossed over in Vergil.

own divinity. Her focalization of the episode highlights her prophetic nature and reveals the precision of her prophecies, as Hercules and his self-established cult might be seen to serve as the preliminary fulfillment of Carmentis' divination about Augustus: 'when the same man will protect you and the world and a god in himself shall hold the sacred rites' (*cum vos orbemque tuebitur idem / fient ipso sacra colente deo*, *Fast.* 1.529–530).

Ovid retains many of the Vergilian innovations in the character of Cacus, describes the cave of Cacus with similar diction, and employs similar visual cues. Yet whereas Vergil stresses what can be conceived of as the more *human* aspects of Cacus in his description of the monster and his lair, Ovid instead focuses on the more *inhuman* aspects of Cacus and his abode. Hercules' victory over an even more monstrous Cacus further justifies his deification, which, in Ovid's version, seemingly happens just after the eradication of Cacus. His deification is solidified by a new and lasting feature in the landscape, the *Ara Maxima*. Hercules' establishment of his own cult, highlighted by the narrator Carmentis, can be seen as providing another appropriate model for Augustus, who would soon be deified and worshiped himself.[77] The restoration and recivilization of Rome by both Augustus and his model Hercules, as emphasized in Vergil, help to validate their eventual deifications and cults in Ovid. Carmentis links Augustus and Hercules more explicitly than Evander by indicating their similar futures.

## 5 Conclusion

The Hercules and Cacus episode features troubling violence and bloodshed upon the natural terrain, yet, as Rea argues, these were typical characteristics of stories surrounding Rome's foundation and its development. This is particularly true of accounts written during the Augustan period, which reflected the mood and atmosphere after the civil wars. Augustus wanted Rome to reconsider the significance of its origins as a part of the healing process after the civil wars. He achieved this reconsideration in part through his transformation of Roman topography, uniting old and new construction in a way that was inspiring to the poets.[78] Vergil's and Ovid's allusions to war in their descriptions of the Hercules-Cacus episode appear to insinuate that war, though devastating, is necessary to reshape and transform landscape. Hercules' civilizing

77 Barchiesi 1997, 37, 97–98.

78 Rea 2007, 4–5, 11–14; cf. Gowing 2005, 132–159.

destruction of the proto-Roman landscape in both authors seemingly prefigures Augustus' efforts. The layers of space and time in both poets, though especially Vergil, can be seen as a 'mythological reflection' of the changing landscape of Augustan Rome and represent the visual memory of the Roman landscape.[79] Romans could view structures and natural features in their city and recall events and monuments of the past, both historical and personal. Vergil's and Ovid's accounts of the Hercules-Cacus episode, as witnessed and narrated by Evander and Carmentis, signify the human element of landscape.[80] The evolution of the landscape here occurs in large part due to human (and superhuman) forces, both visual and physical. The nature of landscape, consisting in large part of these verbal and visual memories, enabled the Roman people to see the landscape as multivalent and valuable, and to consider it a part of their history and identity.

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79 Salowey 1994 uses the term 'mythological reflection' to describe the relationship between Hercules' cleaning of the Augean stables and the Mycenaean water projects developing at that time.

80 Landscape 'embraces the physical environment, patterns of settlement, boundaries and frontiers, fields, cities, natural features, monuments, pathways, holy places, wilderness, and much more, yet it derives its multitude of meanings from human experience, perception, and modification' (Alcock 2002, 29–30).

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CHAPTER 16

# Polyvalent Tomi: Ovid's Landscape of Relegation and the Romanization of the Black Sea Region*

*Christoph Pieper*

## 1 Introduction

Ovid's exile poetry is among the most remarkable texts of Latin literature dealing with landscape. After his relegation to the city of Tomi (now Constanţa) on the shores of the Black Sea in 8 CE, Ovid transformed his already complex elegiac *persona* into yet another manifestation, that of a Roman exile in a hostile world at the edge of the Roman empire. The implied author (as I will refer to the speaker of the elegies from now on) meditates in seemingly endless cycles on his despair, his lack of poetic inspiration and, last but not least, the inhospitable landscape of banishment and its uncultivated inhabitants.[1] In the context of this volume, it is the description of Tomi's landscape that interests us most, although it will become clear (and is accepted almost unanimously in modern research) that this landscape cannot be separated from the self-representation of Ovid's implied author. Previous interpretations of the description of Tomi can *grosso modo* be divided into three lines. Apart from (earlier) attempts to use the elegies as sources for the daily life in Augustan Tomi and the Black

* I thank the audience of the Penn-Leiden Colloquium for helpful questions and comments, and the editors and the anonymous reader for stimulating my thoughts and pointing out weaknesses in my argument. Moreover, I owe thanks to the *grex egregius* of Leiden University students who read and discussed the *Tristia* with me in the autumn of 2014. Many ideas in this chapter have been tried out on them. Finally, I am grateful to Laura Napran who has kindly corrected my English. Ancient authors are quoted from the following editions: Apollod. *Bibl.*: Wagner 1926; Aug. *Mon. Anc.*: Scheid 2007; Hor. *Carm.*: Borzsák 1984; Ov. *Tr.*: Hall 1995; Ov. *Pont.*: Richmond 1990 (except book 1, for which I quote Gaertner 2005); Plin. *HN*: Mayhoff 1892–1909; Strabo: Radt 2002–2011. I have silently adapted the punctuation. All translations are my own.

1 The repetitiveness of the elegies has led earlier generations of scholars to label the collections as boring and deprived of inspiration; see the famous dictum by Norden 1910, 510 about the *Epistulae ex Ponto*: 'die (von ein paar uns zufällig interessierenden Nummern abgesehen) zu dem Inhaltleersten der ganzen römischen Literatur gehören'.

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Sea region,[2] most scholars have interpreted descriptions of the stormy cruise from Rome to Tomi, its frigid climate, frosty winters, and unfertile earth in the following ways: as imitation and emulation of earlier works of Augustan literature such as Vergil's *Georgics* 3.349–382 or Horace's *Carmen* 3.24;[3] poetologically as a symbol of (decreasing) poetic abilities;[4] or psychologically as signs of the increasing desperation of the relegated poet.[5] The following reflections aim at complementing such approaches with a slightly more political reading that sees Ovid's poetry of exile as part of a contemporary discussion about Rome's military conquest of the region. My interpretation is largely informed by the important chapter on Ovid in Thomas Habinek's *The Politics of Latin Literature* from 1998, even if I do not share his assumption that Ovid wanted to defend Roman colonialism.[6] According to Habinek, by problematizing identity in a remote banishment, Ovid's poems help to construct Rome as the necessary center of the empire, the 'sole source of both artistic and political authorization'.[7]

My starting point is what many others have argued before: Ovid hardly ever mentions the Roman inhabitants of Tomi, and instead presents the city as mostly barbarian with almost no culture, and particularly without any competent speakers of Latin. The only inhabitants, apart from semi-barbarized Greek settlers, are Thracian and Scythian tribes like the Getae, Iazyges, and Sarma-

2 Cf., e.g., Podossinov 1987 and Batty 1994, who both attribute a high amount of credibility to Ovid's descriptions. Lambrino 1958, 380, on the other hand, would have wished for a more reliable description and therefore accuses Ovid of the 'grave défaut … de masquer sous ces traits trop accusés, donc déformants, une réalité de toute autre nature'.

3 Cf., e.g., Claassen 1999, 195: 'Ovid's geography is taken from books'. The important monograph by Williams 1994 also takes an intertextual approach.

4 Cf., e.g., Evans 1983, 90: 'he emphasizes not so much external conditions as the effect they have on him as a writer'. Williams 1994 turns the argument upside down and argues for a 'technique of dissimulation' (79) that actually attempts to exhibit unbroken poetic ability and creativity. The most radical interpretation in this line is the claim that Ovid never was banished, but invented the exile as yet another fictitious elegiac world (a fitting world for the *flebile carmen*), cf. Janssen 1951 and Fitton Brown 1985. In my opinion, two main arguments make such a view implausible: 1. If Ovid had invented the exile in Tomi, why dedicate two complete works to the topic? Wouldn't the *Tristia* have done? 2. Is it really imaginable that Augustus in his final years (that 'ended in a decade of autocratic behaviour', according to Levick 2013$^2$, 96) could have tolerated an accusation of unjustly punishing a poet if the punishment was not real?

5 Cf., e.g., Williams 1997, 133: exile as a 'state of mind'.

6 Habinek 1998, 165.

7 Habinek 1998, 153.

tians.[8] This picture, however, is not corroborated by historical and archaeological evidence, which hints instead at a strongly hellenized city in which Greek was the most important language, as numerous inscriptions testify.[9] Moreover, Latin would have been spoken by a substantial number of the inhabitants. As Octavian Bounegru has shown, Tomi was a city with international character, due to its crucial function as a transit harbor for important trade routes.[10] Dionys Pippidi therefore speaks of an amalgamation of cultures in Tomi, of 'signes évidents … d'une hellénisation culturelle des Thraces, qui par la suite seront "romanisés" dans la même acception culturelle et, disons-nous, politique du terme'.[11] At first glance, Ovid, with his constant stress on the barbaric nature of the inhabitants, does not seem to be much interested in this Tomitan multiculturalism. In the following, I will investigate whether this picture changes when one examines the texts more closely.

## 2 The Fragmenting Place: Tomi

*Tristia* 3.9, an aetiological poem, narrates parts of the myth of Medea.[12] It is well established that in Ovid's exile poetry numerous mythological predecessors shape the figure of the implied author. One of the most recurrent parallels is the one drawn between Ovid and Odysseus, the man who seeks his homeland, yet is not allowed to reach it.[13] Medea is yet another mythological figure we encounter more than once, partly because her homeland Colchis is on the shores of the Black Sea (as was the homeland of the Taurians in whose land

8 See Podossinov 1987, 126 for a list of all tribes mentioned in Ovid.

9 See Chwalek 1996, 42–43 with further literature. Seminal is the *RE* entry by Danoff 1962, esp. 1405–1413 on the population of the city which, according to him, kept its mostly Milesian character from the Hellenistic until at least the early imperial period ('Jedenfalls aber spielte das thrakische Element noch keine führende Rolle in der Stadt', 1405).

10 Cf. Bounegru 2000.

11 Pippidi 1977, 255.

12 Luck 1967–1977, 2.208 calls the elegy a 'Glanzstück ovidischer Erzählkunst'. On Medea in Ovid, see Claassen 1999, 42–47, on *Tr.* 3.9 esp. 45–46: 'Exile brings unredeemed horror. The poet purposely wishes to horrify his Roman readership'.

13 See Claassen 1990, 66–70 for a survey of epic elements in the first book of the *Tristia*. Tola 2004, 261–278 has many valuable detailed observations on the Ovid-Odysseus parallel (also including some hints concerning Jason's journey to Colchis). Fedeli 2008 is a recent interpretation of *Tr.* 1.3 and its epic predecessors. The transformation of the elegiac voice into that of an epic hero seems to connect the *Tristia* and the *Epistulae ex Ponto* with the earlier *Heroides*.

Iphigenia was forced to live—I will come back to her myth below). There has been much speculation about the question of who Ovid would be in the Medea story: the lonely and uprooted Medea? Or the most innocent victim in the story, Absyrtus? Or even Hypsipyle?[14] These potential parallels have been made fruitful for the understanding of the poem,[15] yet I suggest another approach. The text itself at one point explicitly connects the mythological past not to the implied author, but to the present place of Ovid's relegation; the mythological narrative serves as an etymological explanation of the name of Tomi.[16] Even before the foundation of the city, the place was already called Tomi due to the murder of Absyrtus (*Tr.* 3.9.5–6). After the cruel episode has been narrated, the summary recapitulates the reason for the myth having been inserted into the work with a typically etymological marker *inde Tomis dictus … quia* (Ov. *Tr.* 3.9.33–34):[17] 'Hence the place is called Tomis because the story goes that on this spot the sister cut the body parts of her brother into pieces' (*inde Tomis dictus locus hic, quia fertur in illo / membra sui fratris consecuisse soror*).[18] In other words, according to the text itself, the myth is not primarily used to represent the implied author, but what I would call the *implied landscape* of Ovid's relegation.[19]

This landscape is barbarous, cruel, and merciless, as is Medea's murder of her own brother. When the bloody deed itself is narrated, the elegy highlights

14 Thus the suggestion by Huskey 2004, 286–287.

15 Claassen 1999 is a good example of this reading of Ovid's exilic *persona* in terms of mythologizing. Tola 2004, 278–301 has a long section on Medea in the exile poetry.

16 Sluiter 2015, 898 argues that ancient etymology 'is all about synchrony, even though it invokes a discourse that references the past': '[ancient] etymology is about *understanding the present*' (emphasis by Sluiter).

17 For a list of such linguistic markers, see Sluiter 2015, 903, 905. I am grateful to Ineke Sluiter for having pointed me towards this marker and for having made available her article, which was still unpublished at the time of writing the present chapter.

18 Claassen 1990, 70 hints at the parallel in Apollodorus' *Bibliotheca* 1.9.24 (= 1.133): 'When Medea saw him (*sc.* Aeëtes) close by, she killed her brother, dismembered him and threw him into the deep sea. Aeëtes gathered the limbs of his child and thus fell behind in the pursuit. Therefore he turned back and buried the limbs of his gathered child; and he called the place Tomi' (ἰδοῦσα δὲ αὐτὸν πλησίον ὄντα Μήδεια τὸν ἀδελφὸν φονεύει καὶ μελίσασα κατὰ τοῦ βυθοῦ ῥίπτει. συναθροίζων δὲ Αἰήτης τὰ τοῦ παιδὸς μέλη τῆς διώξεως ὑστέρησε· διόπερ ὑποστρέψας καὶ τὰ σωθέντα τοῦ παιδὸς μέλη θάψας, τὸν τόπον προσηγόρευσε Τόμους). See also Nawotka 1994, 410–413 for the same link, who, however, does not mention Claassen.

19 Claassen 1999, 192 interprets the etymological reference to mythology as the marking of a sharp separation line between the mythological past and the world in which Ovid finds himself.

the total dismemberment with three *di-/dis*-compounds in the first distich,[20] and in the following four verses employs a vocabulary of blood and death that, in some details (the bones scattered on the fields and the hands and head of a dead body affixed in a clearly visible place, reminding the reader of the descriptions of Cicero's death as collected in Seneca the Elder's sixth *Suasoria*), might recall descriptions of dire wars or even civil wars (*Tr.* 3.9.27–32):

And rapidly she tore him apart and dispersed the torn body parts on the fields
—they must be looked for in many places,
and to prevent her father from remaining in ignorance,
she fixes the pale hands and bloody head on a high rock—
so that the father should be delayed by fresh grief and
would have to interrupt his sad march while collecting the lifeless limbs of the body.

ac cito <u>di</u>vellit <u>di</u>vulsaque membra per agros
<u>dis</u>sipat in multis invenienda locis
(neu pater ignoret, scopulo proponit in alto
pallentesque manus sanguineumque caput),
ut genitor luctuque novo tardetur et, artus
dum legat extinctos, triste moretur iter.

It is unnecessary to expand on the impression of Tomi we get in this Medea elegy by discussing the general description of Tomi in the *Tristia* and *Epistulae ax Ponto*, as such overviews already exist.[21] Therefore, I will only summarize their findings: the place of Ovid's relegation is a place of barbarism (including human sacrifice), infertility, and continuous cruel wars. As Williams acutely observes, Ovid's description responds in three ways to literary stereotypes in Augustan poetry: Tomi can be described as the antithesis of the Golden Age,

20 Luck 1967–1977, 2.210 hints at the close parallel with the tragic fragment (perhaps by Ennius or Accius) quoted by Cicero in *Nat. D.* 2.67 (Trag. inc. fr. 165–171 = fr. 93 Klotz); there, too, the several *dis*-compounds highlight the events. Cf. also Tola 2004, 285, who comments on the passage within her longer argument on 'fragmentations' as an important topic of Ovid's exile poetry. In Ov. *Her.* 12.118, Medea says of herself that, because of her atrocious deed, she should have been dismembered (*dilacerata*) together with Absyrtus.

21 See recently Scheithauer 2007, 203–231 for a useful catalogue of the most important thematic features of barbaric Tomi. Huskey 2004, 284 connects Tomi (via the Medea myth) to the juridical term *nefas*.

an alternative underworld,[22] and a 'recreation of familiar Scythian extremes'.[23] It may be worth adding to this list that poetic descriptions of Scythia vary considerably from the geographical tradition of the period. Pliny the Elder is probably relying on earlier material when he describes the Thracian region in which Tomi is situated (*HN* 4.44): 'For Thrace, which begins at the Pontic shore in the southern part of the mouth of the Danube, has utterly beautiful cities in that part, the Milesian colony Histropolis, Tomi, Callatis which earlier was called Cerbatis, and Heraclea' (*namque Thracia altero latere a Pontico litore incipiens ubi Hister amnis immergitur, vel pulcherrimas in ea parte urbes habet, Histropolin Milesiorum, Tomos, Callatim quae antea Cerbatis vocabatur, Heracleam*). In respect to the inhabitants of the region, we have the testimony of Posidonius. In a passage quoted by Strabo 7.3.2–7 (fr. 277a Edelstein-Kidd = 104 Jac.), he declares that the inhabitants of Moesia do not eat meat because of their reverence for the gods (κατ' εὐσέβειαν, 7.3.3), and the Getae are especially known for their outstanding religiosity ('the fact that in this tribe there is a strong enthusiasm for matters divine', τὸ δ' ἰσχύειν ἐν τῷ ἔθνει τούτῳ τὴν περὶ τὸ θεῖον σπουδήν, 7.3.4).[24]

Compared to such nuanced images, one might be inclined to see Ovid's description as rather one-dimensional. A typical example concerning the barbaric aspect of the Black Sea region is *Pont.* 1.8, which offers a brief historical description of the city of Aegissus (modern Tulcea) at about 120 km north of Tomi. The city was destroyed in 12 BCE and then quickly rebuilt. The description is connected to the mythological narrative of *Tr.* 3.9 through the short remark on the mythological past in which the city was founded and received its name from the first ruler. The verses reaffirm the impression of a remote, restless country vexed by bloody fights (*Pont.* 1.8.11–20):

22 Cf. the chapter by Kathrin Winter in this volume.

23 Williams 1994, 14–16 with references to earlier literature. In particular, the link between Ovid's description of Tomi and Vergil's Scythia has been fruitfully examined in many intertextual studies. The poetry of exile is also regularly interpreted as anti-bucolic, cf., e.g., Claassen 1999, 190 and *passim*. Claassen 1990, 80 adds the description of the House of Famine in Ov. *Met.* 8.788–791, which Ovid also locates in Scythia. Chwalek 1996, 43 believes that Roman readers would be able to understand that Ovid's description is consciously erroneous and that these errors should be regarded as signposts of fiction. McGowan 2009, 210 also sees Tomi as a markedly fictional space due to the copious presence of mythological *exempla*.

24 See Gratsianskaya 2014 for an overview of Strabo's treatment of the northern Black Sea region and the connection to contemporary politics.

There stands an old city, close to the shores of double-named Hister,
which can hardly be attacked due to its fortification and topography.
The Caspian Aegisus (if we can believe what the locals tell about themselves)
founded it and named it after himself.
The wild Getae captured it after having destroyed the Odrysii
in an unexpected war and took up arms against the king.
He thought of his great family which he increased with his virtuous strength,
immediately approached surrounded by countless soldiers,
and did not leave until, by the deserved slaughter of the guilty,
he crushed the daring spirits of the people.

stat vetus urbs, ripae vicina binominis Histri,
moenibus et positu vix adeunda loci.
Caspius Aegisos, de se si credimus ipsis,
condidit et proprio nomine dixit opus.
hanc ferus Odrysiis[25] inopino Marte peremptis
cepit et in regem sustulit arma Getes.
ille memor magni generis, virtute quod auget,
protinus innumero milite cinctus adest,
nec prius abscessit, merita quam caede nocentum
audaces animos contuderat populi.[26]

Just as in the Medea elegy, by recalling the remote past Ovid stresses the *stabilitas morum* of the place: war has been waged through countless soldiers since its foundation, and there seems no reason to believe that things could change.

25 Cf. Helzle 2003, 213 ad loc.: the Odrysii in the time of Ovid's banishment still had their own kingdom which was, however, dependent on Rome (cf. Gaertner 2005, 438: 'it is doubtful whether there was a powerful Odrysian state in Ovid's day'); it was only in 46 CE that their territory was made part of the Roman province.

26 This is the reading of mss. B and C (with Riese's conjecture *contuderat* for the transmitted *contuderit*); A omits the verse. Gaertner 2005 also omits the verse in his edition, but tentatively conjectures (441) *vulnere dux saevo concidit ipse Getes*. Tissol 2014, 154 speculates that the verse was already missing from the *archetypus* and labels the reading of BC and of several *recentiores* 'scribal stopgaps'. Helzle 2003, 214, however, defends the reading of BC: 'Durch den Erhalt des Verses gewinnt man einen imposanten Vierwortpentameter …, der im vorliegenden Kontext sehr angebracht ist'.

## 3 Roman Expansion into the *ultima terra*

What could Ovid's Roman readers make of such a description? What would be the appeal of nine books filled with details about a remote land? To answer these questions, I will consider landscape as part of the contemporary political discourse. To start with, the region was no longer, as Batty believes, a *terra incognita* for almost all Romans, 'an almost mythically wild and foreign land' in which they were uninterested.[27] True, it was far from Rome and probably not within the reach of conventional touristic journeys. On the other hand, one must not forget that the Danube region was very emphatically part of the military news during the late-Augustan regime.[28] Roman soldiers were certainly present in Tomi and its surroundings, even if Ovid minimizes their presence. Even if only a few poems refer to the military activities of the Romans in the Black Sea region, and even if Tomi and its surroundings are represented as a region at the margin of the world, an *ultima terra* (3.4.48–52;[29] cf. also e.g., *Tr.* 1.1.127–128), the Romans knew that the margin of the empire was automatically connected to regular military campaigns. Indeed, in the second book of the *Tristia* Ovid combines the returning topos of the marginal country with a reference to the recent conquest of the region (*Tr.* 2.199–200): 'This land has been subdued most recently to Italian law, and it barely adheres to the edge of your empire' (*haec est Ausonio sub iure novissima vixque / haeret in imperii margine terra tui*).[30] The verses refer to Marcus Licinius Crassus' victory in 29 BCE over the Thracians and more specifically over the Getae (who in Rome were mostly called Dacians, *Daci*), a victory for which the envious Octavian claimed the triumph for himself alone, as Cassius Dio reports (51.25.2).[31] But in fact, suggesting that with this victory the region had been conquered sounds much too clear-cut. It was only two years before Ovid's arrival, in 6 CE when the tribes of the middle Danube region arose against the Romans, that the Romans seem to have taken greater control also of the lower Danube region by installing a *legatus pro praetore* of what would become the province of Moesia

27 Batty 1994, 90.

28 Cf. McGowan 2009, 206–207.

29 The formulation might be borrowed from Prop. 3.4.3 (*parat ultima terra triumphos*), here referring to Augustus' Parthian triumph of 19 BCE.

30 Ingleheart 2010, 199 ad loc. comments on the double meaning of *novissimus*, meaning both 'the "most remote" land' and '"most recent", referring to the recent imposition of Roman control in the area'.

31 Cf. Nagle 1980, 134 for references to the victory in Prop. 4.3.9 and Verg. *Aen.* 7.604.

only under Claudius' reign.[32] In fact, the suppression of the Pannonian revolt was not accomplished until 9 CE and was important enough for Augustus to insert it into his *Res gestae*, where he also mentions the Dacians (i.e., the Getae) (Aug. *Mon. Anc.* 30):[33]

> I subdued the tribes of the Pannonians, which no Roman army ever reached before my principate and which were defeated by Tiberius Nero, who was then my stepson and legate, and I extended the frontier of Illyricum up to the river Danube. When an army of the Dacians crossed the Danube, it was defeated and subdued completely under my auspices, and afterwards my own army crossed the Danube and forced the tribes of the Dacians to accept the dominion of the people of Rome.
>
> Pannoniorum gentes qua[s a]nte me principem populi Romani exercitus nunquam adit, devictas per Ti. [Ne]ronem qui tum erat privignus et legatus meus, imperio populi Romani s[ubie]ci protulique fines Illyrici ad ripam fluminis Dan[uv]i. Citr[a] quod [D]a[cor]u[m tr]an[s]gressus exercitus meis a[u]sp[iciis vict]us profligatusque [es]t et pos[tea tran]s Dan]u⟨v⟩ium ductus ex[ercitus me]u[s] Da[cor]um gentes im[peri]a p(opuli) R[omani perferre] coe[git].

Immediately after this passage, Augustus proudly speaks of the kings of the region who came to him in order to ask for peace, and again we encounter tribal names which are familiar from Ovid's poetry: 'the Bastarnae, the Scythians, and the kings of the Sarmatians asked for friendship through messengers' (*nostram amic*[*itiam appetive*]*run*[*t*] *per legat*[*os*] *B*[*a*]*starn*[*ae Scythae*]*que et Sarmato-*

32 The first magistrate we know of was Aulus Caecina Severus in 7 CE, who in later years served as prefect of Germania inferior, cf. Dise 1991, 33. Eck 1985, 107–109 collects all biographical sources about Caecina. His role in Moesia is deduced from Cassius Dio 55.29.3: 'Caecina Severus, the chief commander of the neighboring Moesia' (Καικίνας Σεουῆρος ὁ τῆς πλησιοχώρου Μυσίας ἄρχων). However, the remark by Mócsy 1970, 47 still remains partly true today: 'Die Anfänge der Provinz Moesia gehören bis heute zu den ungelösten Problemen der frühen Kaiserzeit'. Danoff 1962, 1418 recalls the formation of the pentapolis with Tomi as its leader after 29 BCE (only from then onwards did Tomi's rise as a regional power begin).

33 Claassen 1990, 76 mentions a possible link of the passage to *Tr.* 2.173–176. Nagle 1980, 134 compares Hor. *Carm.* 4.15.21–22: 'neither will the tribes that drink the waters of deep Danube break the edicts of Augustus, nor the Getae' (*non qui profundum Danuvium bibunt / edicta rumpent Iulia, non Getae*).

*rum ... reg*[*es*] ..., *Mon. Anc.* 31). The text of the *Monumentum Ancyranum* gives us an impression of how, in all probability, Augustus' propaganda celebrated the victory in 9 CE: it meant the securing of the Danube as the frontier of the *imperium*. Given this historical evidence, it is very plausible that Roman soldiers in relatively large numbers must have been at least partly present in and around the city to which Ovid was exiled—it is unimaginable that they would not make use of the quite developed infrastructure which Tomi could offer them. This is another argument for the assumption that Ovid dramatically underrepresented the Roman influence in Tomi and its surrounding in his exile poetry, and it is borne out by the fighting and the numerous references to blood, arms, and war that are part of the implied landscape of the *Tristia* and the *Epistulae ex Ponto* themselves.

Yet, the weapons in the poems are not Roman ones, but only and always the dangerous arrows of the intruding barbarians. The many passages describing how often Tomi and its surrounding are threatened by attacks from northern tribes, and how unstable life for the inhabitants of the Pontus region actually is raise questions about whether the Augustan pacification of the region, which the *princeps* was claiming to have achieved, was successful after all.[34] One detail in Ovid gives a further hint that it may not have been: Augustus' alleged new frontier, the Danube, proves to be a very bad choice indeed, as it is extremely permeable for the enemies—especially during winter, as the frozen river and sea illustrate. Here follows a part of the long description (*Tr.* 3.10.7–12 and 53–56):

> However, while the air is warm, the intervening Hister defends us—
>     fluidly, with its water, it holds off wars—,
> but when sad winter has revealed its squalid face
>     and the earth is whitened by the marble frost,
> [† then life becomes less safe for the inhabitants †]
> ...
> At once the barbaric enemy crosses the Hister made smooth through
>     the dry northern winds,
>     and attacks on his swift horses,
> a mighty enemy because of his horses and his flowing arrows;
>     far and wide he ravages the neighboring fields.

34 Cf. Claassen 1990, 77.

dum tamen aura tepet, medio defendimur Histro—
ille suis liquidus bella repellit aquis—
at cum tristis hiemps squalentia protulit ora
terraque marmoreo est candida facta gelu,
† dum prohibet Boreas et nix habitare sub Arcto,
tum patet has gentes axe tremente premi †[35]
…
protinus aequato siccis Aquilonibus Histro
invehitur celeri barbarus hostis equo,
hostis equo pollens longeque volante sagitta;
vicinam late depopulatur humum.

The safety of the Roman proto-province depends on the freezing and thawing of the river, not on the presence of Roman soldiers.

However, this powerful image is not a purely political statement. It also uses a feature of the implied landscape of Tomi for reflections about culture. Men's life in the Pontus region, according to Ovid, is thrown back to the rules of nature, as (Roman) civilization fails. Such a reduction of civilization to nature is visible more often in Tomi. The ice of the river not only marks the unsuccessful delimitation of Roman territory, but also functions as the only calendar that structures the year. In *Tr.* 5.10, the implied author counts the years of his relegation by the freezing and thawing of the river (5.10.1–2): 'Since I have been at the Black Sea, the Hister thrice was frozen, and thrice the waves of the Sea have been hardened with ice' (*Ut sumus in Ponto, ter frigore constitit Hister, / facta est Euxini dura ter unda maris*). If one remembers the important role the ritual calendar played in Augustus' Rome, Ovid's description may carry critical overtones towards Augustus' claim of complete control (and would then fit well with the critique of Augustus' similarly totalitarian claim of territorial control mentioned above). But the loss of chronological orientation also has implications for the speaker of the *Tristia*. In *Tr.* 5.3, Ovid, the implied author not only of the 'sad songs', but also of the *Fasti* and thus an expert on Rome's rituals, is unsure whether he is celebrating the Bacchus festival of the Liberalia

35 The distich has been much debated; Scaliger and Heinsius were the first to delete it, and the edition by Hall 1995 mentions several conjectures for almost every single word. Hall's own text (printed without cruces) is too bold to convince me (a tendency of his whole edition): *nec patitur Boreas et nox habitare sub Arcto / tunc undas gentes axe gemente premunt* (the two verses bear no less than four conjectures by Hall: *nec patitur*, *undas*, *gemente* and *premunt*). I therefore do not translate the verses, but merely paraphrase what they should mean.

on the right day—although he had dedicated almost a hundred verses to this very festival in the third book of his *Fasti* (*Tr.* 5.3.1–2):[36] 'This is the day on which poets customarily celebrate you, Bacchus, at least if I am not confusing the date' (*Illa dies haec est qua te celebrare poetae, / si modo non fallunt tempora, Bacche, solent*). The fragmenting potential of the landscape of Tomi also has the power to destroy topographical and chronological certitudes, which represent political and cultural stability. Ovid's implied author as an individual living within this insecurity has to find a way to recollect his threatened existence.

## 4 Romanization Failed?

Let us turn back to Rome's military presence in the region. Why should any Roman want to conquer such an uncultivated and potentially disturbing space as the Pontus region? Ovid's poetry at least does not give any positive answer. There is hardly anything that would justify Roman imperialism in the region. Especially in the *Epistulae ex Ponto*, Ovid's perspective seems harsh: the project of Romanization has failed, the Black Sea remains a *terra barbara*, no *pax Romana* has reached it—all this in clear contradiction to Augustus' aforementioned claim in his *Res gestae* that the rulers of the region begged for friendship with the Romans.[37] Instead, Ovid says (*Pont.* 2.5.17–18) that 'you will hardly find a soil in the whole world (believe me) that has less benefit from the *pax Augusta*' (*vix hac invenies totum, mihi crede, per orbem, / quae minus Augusta pace fruatur humus*; cf. also *Pont.* 2.7.67–68).[38] What is more, they have no real interest in each other. Even *imperator* Augustus, the initiator of the conquest, does not care very much for Tomi, and the Tomitans know nothing about Rome (*Pont.* 1.2.71–72 and 75–82):

> For Caesar does not know, although a god knows everything,
> in what condition this utterly remote place is,
> …
> He does not have the time to ask in which region the Tomitans dwell
> (a place barely known even to the neighboring Getae),

36 Cf. *Fast.* 3.713–808. For the cessation of time in the exile poetry, see Claassen 1999, 185–186.

37 Cf. Habinek 1998, 159: 'Ovid invites his reader to reflect on the instability of Roman rule throughout the region'.

38 Cf. Claassen 1999, 221 for the strong contradictions between Augustus' idealization of the pacified Danube frontier in his *Res gestae* and Ovid's counter-image of a country vexed by endless wars.

nor what the Sauromatae are doing, the grim Iazyges
    or the land of the Taurians, inhabited by Orestes' goddess,
nor which other peoples, as soon as the Hister freezes up,
    travel along the hard surface of the river on swift horses.
The majority of those do not care for you, most beautiful
    Rome, nor do they fear the weapons of Italian soldiers.

nescit enim Caesar, quamvis deus omnia norit,
    ultimus hic qua sit condicione locus.[39]
…
nec vacat, in qua sint positi regione Tomitae,
    quaerere (finitimo vix loca nota Getae),
aut quid Sauromatae faciant, quid Iazyges acres
    cultaque Oresteae Taurica terra deae,
quaeque aliae gentes, ubi frigore constitit Hister,
    dura meant celeri terga per amnis equo.
maxima pars horum nec te, pulcherrima, curat,
    Roma, nec Ausonii militis arma timet.

Such mutual disinterest seems an unpropitious starting point for a campaign with the aim of romanizing.

One of the strongest images in Ovid's poetry for the danger of the never-satiated colonial appetite of the Romans can be found in the second book of the *Tristia*, in a phrase which in a typically Ovidian manner combines panegyric with a wording that invites the reader to turn the praise upside down. The verses form the starting point of a eulogy of Tiberius' battles for the sake of the empire and of Augustus (*Tr.* 2.173–176):

… through whom (*sc.* Tiberius) you (*sc.* Augustus) wage wars, with the help of whose body you fight,
    to whom you attribute your great auspices and the deities favorable to you;
and half of yourself is present and watches the city of Rome,
    the other half is away and wages grim wars.

39 Helzle 2003, 100 compares the passage with *Tr.* 1.2.85–86: 'Through my prayers, I hasten my way in order to see the Tomitans, wherever in the world they may live' (*nescioquo videam positos ut in orbe Tomitas, / velocem facio per mea vota viam*); before Ovid left Rome, he was as ignorant as the emperor.

per quem bella geris cuius nunc corpore pugnas,
  auspicium cui das grande deosque tuos,
dimidioque tui praesens et aspicis urbem,
  dimidio procul es saevaque bella geris.

Of course, this can be read extremely positively: Augustus as a good *pater patriae* is everywhere and takes care of everything evenhandedly.[40] But one might also, in the context of the poetry of exile, think of negative associations of the anaphoric *dimidium*. Augustus, like Ovid, and like most of the Romans fighting throughout the whole world, lives an almost schizophrenic life, a life which is fragmented in a similar way to Absyrtus' body in *Tr.* 3.9 (the twofold *dimidium* fits the *di-*/*dis-*cluster of *Tr.* 3.9 well).[41] Tomi, the city on the far margin of the world that cuts things into pieces, symbolizes the fragmentation both of the empire and of individuals.[42] If it does not stop expanding, Rome might lose its balance, which rests on the center.

It is worthwhile to return once more to the Medea elegy *Tr.* 3.9. So far, the opening of this elegy has not been considered, although it is also remarkable in the context of landscape. The poem with its pessimistic description of the origins of Tomi begins by mentioning the Greek colonies on the Black Sea (3.9.1–4):

After all here also are Greek cities—who would believe it?—
  among names hinting at uncivilized barbarism;
colonists from Miletus were also sent and came here
  and established their Greek houses among the Getae.

Hic quoque sunt igitur Graiae—quis crederet?—urbes
  inter inhumanae nomina barbariae;
huc quoque Mileto missi venere coloni,
  inque Getis Graias constituere domos.

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40 See Luck 1967–1977, 2.113 for such a standard interpretation: the emperor, though remaining in Rome, sends his *auspicia* and his *fortuna Augusti* with the troops who then fight 'als ob er gegenwärtig wäre'. See also the explanation by Ciccarelli 2003, 145 ad loc. ('equilibrio perfetto che Augusto sa mantenere'). Ingleheart 2010, 183 ad loc. refers to the discourse of friendship and love in which the beloved is often referred to as *dimidium* of the speaker.

41 Videau-Delibes 1991, 160 has more passages in which the *di-*prefix in *diversus* marks the opposition of Tomi and Rome.

42 Tola 2004, 287 mentions *Tr.* 1.3.73–76 as the first occurrence of this motif of disruption. See Hingley 2010, 59 on the idea of fragmentation of identity that has become an important issue in studies on Romanization in recent years.

This passage is one of the earliest explicit references to the Hellenistic past of the region in the poetry of exile. The contrast with the rest of the poem could not be greater and has been concisely summarized by Werner Schubert: '[die Elegie] spiegelt alles Negative von Ovids Verbannungsort in einem grausam-archaischen Mythos wieder, der die Erwartung, die mit der Erwähnung des Zivilisationselementes in den ersten Versen verbunden ist, Schritt für Schritt wieder zurücknimmt.'[43] I would go further and argue that the early Greek settlers of Tomi can be seen as an admonitory omen for the Romans of Ovid's time: according to Ovid's poems (yet again, in opposition to the archaeological evidence), they have lost their identity in such a way that their previous colonies are hardly recognizable, even their former existence seems unimaginable—*quis crederet*. Toward the end of the *Tristia*, in *Tr.* 5.10, Ovid has condensed this idea into one powerful image (*Tr.* 5.10.33–34): 'and also people thought to be offspring of the Greek city vest themselves with Persian trousers instead of the dress of their homeland' (*hos quoque, qui geniti Graia creduntur ab urbe, / pro patrio cultu Persica braca tegit*). Similar and more recurrent is another image: Ovid, the Roman poet who in the autobiographical *Tr.* 4.10.26 famously claims that in the past, when he still lived in Rome, he could write nothing but verses, in exile even loses his ability to write Latin (*Tr.* 5.12.57: *ipse mihi videor iam dedidicisse Latine*, cf. also 3.14.45–48).[44] For a poet, a greater destruction of his identity is unimaginable.

## 5 Romanization or Acculturation?

So far, my argument seems to aim at a clear conclusion: if conquering the Black Sea region will be difficult for the Romans, romanizing it will be impossible. The imperium is too disparate to form a coherent unity, and those who must live in different parts of it suffer disruption of their identity. In my opinion, the collection partly functions as such a warning or even criticism of Augustan beliefs in the feasibility of Roman control over the world. Yet, to think that the poems of exile argue against any Roman presence in the area would surely go too far. Within the framework of such a presence, however, they offer

43 Schubert 1990, 156.

44 In Braund 1997, 130, we find an interesting parallel for this theme in Dio Chrysostom's thirty-sixth oration, in which the Greeks of Olbia (also on the Black Sea) lose their ability to speak proper Greek due to their contact with the barbarians. Braund shows that, for the Greeks, the Black Sea region was a similarly marginal zone as for the Romans, 'both within Hellas and outside it' (131).

an alternative route toward successful Romanization, and that means toward mutual acculturation. Such an interpretation of Ovid's poetry is in line with recent approaches to the term 'Romanization' by scholars of ancient history and archaeologists. Instead of the older idea of a top-down colonialization which propagated Roman law and order by means of military power, scholars like Greg Woolf, Ramsey MacMullen, and Richard Hingley have broadened the perspective on Roman presences in the provinces, showing that besides a public and official level on which Roman rites, law, and discipline were indeed implemented, there were many other, often more private levels, on which the Roman immigrants interacted on equal terms with the local population, thus creating new discourses of power and 'new, highly differentiated social formation[s]'.[45] MacMullen lists several fields in which Romans in the eastern Mediterranean adapted Hellenistic characteristics, ranging from participating in Greek festivals to dropping their native Latin tongue and adopting Greek as their new daily language.[46] In recent years, this heterogeneity is even considered to be an important 'binding force of imperial stability'.[47]

Particularly in the final book of the *Epistulae ex Ponto* (although not only there),[48] we find many hints at a successful mutual acculturation between Ovid and the inhabitants of Tomi. A powerful metaphor for the impossibility of keeping a clear-cut distinction between Roman culture and Tomitan barbarism, as we have already seen, is the frozen Danube. As Augustus had decreed it to be the frontier, it should divide culture from *barbaries* and protect Roman life from brutal attacks from outside the empire. But in Ovid's poetry, the river only rarely functions as such a frontier because it is easy to cross when its surface is frozen (and as Ovid's poetry suggests, moments of thawing in spring or summer are rare). Instead, the permeable Danube can be seen as a powerful metaphor for the grey zone at the margin of the empire,[49] in which distinctions between barbarians and non-barbarians become problematic. Ovid's implied author lets the reader participate in his gradual awareness of this loss of certain-

45 Woolf 1997, 347. For a good overview of the research on Romanization, see Hingley 2010.

46 Cf. MacMullen 2000, 5–16.

47 Hingley 2010, 61.

48 Even Schanz and Hosius 1935$^4$, notoriously critical of Ovid in general and more specifically of his exile poetry ('So ruft die Lektüre der letzten Werke Ovids nicht Erhebung und kaum Mitleid wach, sondern Langeweile und Mißmut über seine Charakterschwäche', 249), have slightly more esteem for the fourth book of the *Epistulae ex Ponto*: 'Man fühlt etwas erwachten Mannesmut.' (247)

49 I owe the formulation of the Danube as a metaphor for the grey zone to my Leiden students Marloes de Wit and Mark Oldenhave.

ties. In the course of the poetry of exile we read not only of Ovid, but also of the Greek inhabitants losing their ability to speak proper Greek (*in paucis remanent Graecae vestigia linguae*, *Tr.* 5.7.51) and, as mentioned above, they even wear Persian trousers. On the other hand, the barbarians demonstrate knowledge of Greek mythology and culture. This is staged most prominently in *Pont.* 3.2, where the reader encounters a *senex* who was born in Scythia (the region of famously abominable barbarism outside the *imperium Romanum*) and now lives just within the empire, in Tomi. If this 'biography' of the old man is a first hint at his function as a bridge between the barbarian and the cultivated, the impression is corroborated when he relates the myth of Iphigenia (which is defined as a *vulgaris fabula*, obviously 'widely known' in this region, in 3.2.97) and earns general and emotional approval of the crowd, not for the local color of the story, but for the *pietas* and *fides* of Orestes and Iphigenia (3.2.98). The implied author comments (3.2.99–100): 'obviously even on this coast, which is wilder than all the others, can the word "friendship" move barbaric hearts' (*scilicet hac etiam, qua nulla ferocior ora est, / nomen amicitiae barbara corda movet*). The distich is remarkable as it unites the speaker's attempt to define the border of culture and barbarism (*nulla ferocior ora*) and at the same time thwarts this attempt by showing that a crucial part of *humanitas*, namely the ability to show empathy and to appreciate friendship, is shared by peoples on both sides of such an alleged border.[50] Ovid's verses fit the observations of John Barrett, who contends that the Roman empire as a stable entity was only a mental construct, defended by monumental architecture, foundation myths, and fortification works at the frontiers, which, however, could never 'fix an empire's margin'.[51]

But not only the landscape hints at such blurred boundaries—the implied author is also transformed into a similar symbol of cultural exchange. Already in the *Tristia*, his loss of Latin (mentioned above) is compensated for by learning Getic and Sarmatian (*Tr.* 5.12.57–58): 'I have the impression that I myself have already unlearned to speak Latin, for I have learned to speak Getic and Sarmatian' (*ipse mihi videor iam dedidicisse Latine, / nam didici Getice Sarmaticeque loqui*). The most radical step in this transformation is the famous *Geticus libellus*, which Ovid mentions in *Pont.* 4.13. It is the last time that we read of the implied author's success as a poet (*Pont.* 4.13.19–24):

50 For *inhumanitas* as a typical characteristic of barbarians, see Woolf 1998, 59–60 and Dauge 1981, 537–544.

51 Barrett 1997, 59.

Oh, I am ashamed, because I have written a little book in the Getic language,
adapting barbaric words to our meter,
and because I even found approval (congratulate me!) and for the first time
was seen as a poet among the inhuman Getae.
You ask for the topic? An encomiastic poem: I spoke of Caesar,
and my innovation was aided by the power of this god.

a pudet! et Getico scripsi sermone libellum,
structaque sunt nostris barbara verba modis,
et placui (gratare mihi) coepique poetae
inter inhumanos nomen habere Getas.
materiam quaeris? laudes: de Caesare dixi,
adiuta est novitas numine nostra dei.

The transformation of the Roman into a Getic poet has for a long time been interpreted as a symbol of the silencing of Ovid's poetic voice (*poeta Getes* being an oxymoron meaning *nullus poeta*, as Betty Rose Nagle has put it).[52] Nonetheless, against such a negative reading of the passage speaks the fact that Ovid is not the only poet who could be transformed into a Getic-speaking *vates*. In *Pont.* 4.2.21–22, he ventures the idea that even Homer would become *Getes* in this surrounding: *si quis in hac ipsum terra posuisset Homerum, / esset, crede mihi, factus et ille Getes*. Obviously, the implied author's self-confidence is still great enough to compare himself with the *summus poeta*. Therefore, the Getic poem should not be seen as a symbol of weakness, but of renewed, yet adapted poetic vigor.[53] I suggest that it symbolizes the implied author's successful acculturation: the poem in Getic language and Greco-Roman meter, and containing the praise of the Roman emperor (Tiberius), is acclaimed by the inhabitants. His verses, not Roman military achievements, bring Roman politics and culture to the hitherto uncultivated barbarians and make the locals susceptible to the Roman regime in the region.

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52 Nagle 1980, 133.

53 Many different approaches to appreciation of the *Geticus libellus* have been proposed: confident joking or irony, cf. Claassen 1990, 74; Ovid's demonstration of his loyalty towards the system, cf. Habinek 1998, 160; allowing the surrendered Getae a distinct voice, cf. ibid.; the invention of a new genre of praise fitting the unheard content of the *laudes* (i.e., Augustus' apotheosis), cf. Williams 1994, 93–98.

Ovid's Getic poem was probably never written (though too little of the Thracian languages is known to verify Lozovan's serious doubts[54] whether Getic could be adapted to Greco-Roman quantitative meters).[55] Probably it is more of a vision: an idealized Roman presence in the Black Sea region should take local traditions seriously, mingle them with Rome's own traditions and, by doing so, conciliate the Getae with the Roman dominion.[56] Romanization of the region and 'Getization' of the Romans go hand in hand, not through warfare, but through culture.[57]

## 6 Conclusion

Ovid's exile poetry, so I have suggested, offers two different perspectives on Roman imperialism: on the one hand, we have Tomi, a city of the extremes, the *ultima terra*, a landscape of disruption and war. Roman imperialism does not bring any relief, but exacerbates the problems. In this view, Tomi and its surrounding landscape are a symbol for the impossibility of Romanization, and can be read as criticism of Augustus' campaigns in this region in the last decade of his reign. On the other hand, the texts take a more constructive approach, too. Ovid adds a touch of 'personal Romanization', an addition to the centralized Augustan discourse.[58] The implied author Ovid is a representative of

54 Cf. Lozovan 1958, 402.

55 To my knowledge, the last modern scholar to take Ovid's word for the existence of the *Geticus libellus* seems to have been della Corte 1975, who proposes that it was not written in Getic, but in the *koinê* of the Black Sea region.

56 Barchiesi 1997, 38 summarizes the content of Ovid's *Geticus libellus* as 'the basic formula for Julio-Claudian poetry', i.e., a 'fusion between the prince seen as inspiring Muse and the prince seen as the subject of poetic praise'. More political is the suggestion of Lambrino 1958, 386 who believes in the reality of the scene, but interprets it in such a symbolic way that adjustment to a fictitious reading is easy: Lambrino interprets the assembly of the locals gathered around the Roman poet Ovid not as a *recitatio*, but as 'une sorte de première manifestation du culte impérial à Tomis', i.e., a public demonstration of loyalty towards the new emperor Tiberius. A more psychological reading is offered by Claassen 1999, 203–204: according to her, the last poems of the *Epistulae ex Ponto* show the 'exile's ability to achieve mental escape' by 'transcendence in space' and 'escape in time' (she calls this 'the sublimation which only a very talented and creative poet can achieve').

57 For the 'gétisation', see Lozovan 1958, 402.

58 MacMullen 2000, 136–137 hints at the importance of distinguishing public and private spaces in our understanding of Romanization; public Romanization is contrasted with private acculturation of the Romans settling in the provinces. This interest in the private

Roman presence in the Black Sea region and of the need of these Romans for acculturation to the locals[59]—for it is Ovid's poetry which amalgamates the different cultures of Rome and the Getic shores, by referring to shared mythological terrain and shared values, and above all, by transforming the implied author into an example of how mutual interest can arise. A poet, not Augustus' soldiers, inscribes the barbaric into the civilized world and gives value to a hitherto uncultivated landscape. As a result of this poetic reinvestment of the land, even the city of Tomi, formerly perceived as hostile, is no longer so different from Ovid's native, Italian Sulmo (*Pont.* 4.14.47–50):[60]

> That you received my lot so softly, Tomitans,
>     is a proof of how kind men of Greek origin are.
> My native Paelignan people and my home country of Sulmo
>     could not have been gentler to my unhappiness.
>
> molliter a vobis mea sors excepta, Tomitae,
>     tam mites Graios indicat esse viros.
> gens mea Paeligni regioque domestica Sulmo
>     non potuit nostris lenior esse malis.

If one reads it according to the conclusions I have drawn, Ovid's poetry can no longer be described with the dichotomy of pro- or anti-imperial propaganda. Instead, criticism and the coexistent glimpse of an alternative and more fruitful cultural and political discourse invite the emperor in Rome to reconsider his actions. In fact, he would be very well advised to call Ovid back and to use his poetic capacities for his own, and thus also for Rome's, sake.[61]

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is more visible in archaeological remains than in most of our ancient textual sources, yet Ovid, though not representative, clearly has such a non-public dimension in his poetry from exile.

59 See Habinek 1998, 161 on the role of poetry in pacification.

60 Already the opening verses of *Tr.* 4.10 describe Sulmo as a place of cold waters—and thus link it to the description of the cold Danube area.

61 Cf. Pieper 2012, 307 for a similar interpretation of the *Fasti*.

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CHAPTER 17

# Stones, Names, Stories, and Bodies: Pausanias before the Walls of Seven-Gated Thebes

*Greta Hawes*

## 1 Introduction

A book dedicated to landscape should give us pause. Putting places into words distances us from them. As writers we communicate via representations—words, images, maps, diagrams. We rely on analogies and metaphors. We make our readers reconstitute these places for themselves. In recognizing the inevitable subjectivity bound up in verbal and pictorial representations, we acknowledge that landscapes exist in any number of ways and that knowledge of them takes many forms. Places can be observed, remembered, and invented, as well as inhabited. 'Sense of place' is produced differently through the bodily intimacy of the resident, the nostalgia of the emigrant, the strategic interests of the general, the curiosity of the tourist, the imagination of the armchair traveler, the creativity of the writer.

This chapter discusses four different facets of the famous walls of that most literary of cities, Boeotian Thebes, encountered in different ways. My title sets out heuristic categories: the stones used to construct the walls, the names given to their gates, the stories intricately intertwined with them, and the bodies of heroes who died attacking and defending them. Two of these categories (stones and bodies) relate to physical objects; two (names and stories) are verbal. I do not intend, however, to set these pairs against one another. Quite the opposite. These are deliberately flexible, porous labels. They illustrate an interlocking corpus of knowledge. Each element both depends on and inflects the others, and never tidily. In their various configurations, together they constitute the walls of Thebes.

Thebes occupies a low acropolis which rises out of the plains of central Boeotia. This acropolis (conventionally termed the Cadmeia) has been inhabited almost continuously since the Neolithic period. But Theban topography extends far beyond this site. Thebes was made famous by words; it was a distinct place on the Greek 'mental map'.[1] Because particular aspects of its landscape

1 For such 'mental maps', and the place of Thebes within them, see Easterling 1989. Thebes was also a distinctive place in the Latin literary landscape: Hardie 1990; Braund 2006.

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were prominent in poetry (tragedy in particular), its landmarks entered into the panhellenic repertoire.[2] One need not have visited Thebes to be familiar with its most famous sights. Thebes existed, then, in various ways throughout antiquity. The city of Cadmus continued to flourish in verse, to defend itself against Argive attackers[3] and to be defeated by the Epigoni even as its blocks-and-mortar homonym faced is own challenges, and was several times destroyed. We should not, however, delineate these different cities too dogmatically. There is an organic connection between them throughout antiquity, even if the Thebes of literature maps imperfectly on the *realia* of the site. Landscapes, whether gazed upon, thought up, or written down, are complex phenomena. Thebes' walls were made famous by stories; it is equally the case that such myths kept the city alive and its walls standing.

Because so many ancient perspectives on Thebes are the distanced ones of poetry, Pausanias' eyewitness account is all the more valuable. In his *Periegesis* (ca. 155–180 CE) he traces nine itineraries through the southern and central Greek mainland. He notes the things to be seen, and comments on the traditions attached to them. He describes Thebes as partially abandoned: 'The name of Thebes has dwindled to signify just the acropolis and a scattering of inhabitants' (τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τῶν Θηβῶν ἐς ἀκρόπολιν μόνην καὶ οἰκήτορας καταβέβηκεν οὐ πολλούς, 8.33.2).[4] Yet even in this reduced state, it dominates his account of Boeotia. Thebes' allure was its offer of a tour of famous locations of myth. This desire to experience mythic Thebes probably characterized the inhabitants' sense of their city, too. The fact that Pausanias' account accords so closely with the poetic topography of Thebes suggests that the site itself had, through successive restorations, been rebuilt with this mythical image in mind.[5] Pausanias'

2 This is the theme of Daniel Berman's 2015 *Myth, literature, and the creation of the topography of Thebes*. I am indebted to that author for several patient and insightful conversations.

3 I use 'Argives' as shorthand for 'those who attack from Argos'; their various provenances in fact include Arcadia (Parthenopaeus), Calydon (Tydeus), and, of course, Thebes (Polyneices).

4 All translations are my own. See also 9.7.6: 'Their lower city is entirely abandoned in my day, with the exception of the sanctuaries' (καί σφισιν ἡ μὲν κάτω πόλις πᾶσα ἔρημος ἦν ἐπ' ἐμοῦ πλὴν τὰ ἱερά). Strabo 9.2.5 describes Thebes as barely a κώμη.

5 Symeonoglou 1985, the only systematic discussion of Theban archaeology, notably ignores the possible influence of poetic topography on successive reconstructions of the site; his discussion of the classical city (114–141), for example, depends heavily on Pausanias' much later account. Recent studies are more sensitive to this diachronic dynamic: e.g., Mastronarde 1994, 650: 'It is quite likely that the traditional topography known to Pausanias was a post-

comments on the walls of Thebes and its traditions illustrate how dichotomous elements meld within a single landscape. His descriptions of these walls highlight the value of empiricism, and yet, as we shall see, he often echoes literary habits; the physical *realia* of imperial Greece cannot be extricated from the conceptual world of storytelling. As artifacts of Greece's heritage, the walls satisfy both local and panhellenic estimations of value: the desire of an outsider like Pausanias to see the famous landmark accords with the eagerness of the Thebans themselves to show a place which meets these expectations. The existence of Thebes' gates simultaneously as physical fortifications and as backdrops for myth, as local landmarks and panhellenic touchstones, gives them a richness, a complexity, even an incongruity, both within and beyond the site of Thebes itself.

Through this chapter, I use Pausanias' account as a lens on the traditions which attended these walls in Greek culture more broadly. Pausanias' account allows us to examine how the famous evocations of Theban myth and topography might be understood to play out on the site of Thebes itself. As we shall see, the imperial site is a close relative of the Thebes of literature, but not an exact replica. A tragedian may create a walled city as a universe complete unto itself, mimetically contained within the Theater of Dionysus; the city itself, by contrast, has its own particular, changing physical forms, its own particular relationships to the world around it, and thus conveys these traditions in quite different ways. It responds, in any case, not to a single account, but to the cumulative weight of tradition, which is characterized by diversity, inconsistency, and dispute. In setting Pausanias' account of Thebes against the literary Thebes of the broader tradition, I trace two recurring ideas, apparent both on site and off. I examine the ways in which the 'sevenness' of Thebes' gates resonated through both mythology and topography; this 'sevenness' was both unequivocal, and flexible enough to admit variation. I look too at the different manifestations of this 'sevenness': sometimes, as we shall see, the gates (and their conceptual and physical doubles) are an undifferentiated corporate mass, at others a series of individuated landmarks.

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classical invention, a creative "restoration" based on classic texts that did not in fact offer entirely real and consistent topographical information'; Berman 2015, 143: 'What we find is that the urban landscape of Pausanian Thebes is constructed in no small part by its rich mythic past'.

## 2 Stones

Homer uses the epithet 'seven-gated' twice to describe Thebes; once in relation to the site before it was walled (*Od.* 11.263–265):

> [Amphion and Zethus], who first founded the seat of seven-gated Thebes
> and surrounded it with towers, since without fortifications they were not able
> to dwell in broad Thebes.

> οἳ πρῶτοι Θήβης ἕδος ἔκτισαν ἑπταπύλοιο,
> πύργωσάν τ', ἐπεὶ οὐ μὲν ἀπύργωτόν γ' ἐδύναντο
> ναιέμεν εὐρύχορον Θήβην, κρατερώ περ ἐόντε.

and again in Diomedes' description of its sack by the Epigoni (*Il.* 4.406–407):

> we took the seat of seven-gated Thebes,
> despite leading a smaller band against a stronger wall [*sc.* than the one attacked by their fathers].

> ἡμεῖς καὶ Θήβης ἕδος εἵλομεν ἑπταπύλοιο,
> παυρότερον λαὸν ἀγαγόνθ' ὑπὸ τεῖχος ἄρειον.

The epithet 'seven-gated' suggests a city with an identifiable essential form; and yet in Homer even these divinely-built walls do not remain static; they can be strengthened from generation to generation, and destroyed. The Catalogue of Ships lists *Hupothêbai* (*Il.* 2.505) rather than Thebes; Strabo took this as evidence that the city lay abandoned at the time of the Trojan War (9.2.32).[6] This apparent tension between a set poetic topography fixed in words ('seven-gated Thebes') and a singular site subject over time to fluctuations in fortune, this intricate balance between change and continuity, lies at the heart of this chapter.

6 A modern version of this argument makes the destruction of the Mycenaean palace on the Theban citadel a *terminus post quem* for the Catalogue (e.g., Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1970, 30, 34; Fossey 1997, 141–142). The narrative logic of the sack of Troy happening a generation after that of Thebes is not identical to the point that Homeric geography would know only a *Hupothêbai* if Thebes were abandoned at the time, although the two are easily conflated.

Archaeology has produced just one gate on the Cadmeia: circular foundations of a pair of Hellenistic towers below its south-eastern edge are probably the remains of the Electrae. That we can situate a gate 'on the ground' should not be taken as a sign of material certainty. The course of the Cadmeian walls probably shifted several times. We can trace the development of Thebes' fortifications only in bare outline.[7] Meager stretches of Cyclopean masonry on the northern and eastern edges of the acropolis suggest that this area was walled from at least Late Helladic IIIB. These Mycenaean structures perhaps provided the foundations for the fortifications of the archaic and classical periods. From some point during the second half of the fifth century a second circuit protected the city as it spread onto the surrounding plain. This one had lower courses of isometric masonry with a mudbrick superstructure and towers at regular intervals. Thebes was destroyed by Alexander in 335 BCE and its population killed, exiled, or enslaved (Diod. Sic. 17.14; Arr. *Anab.* 1.9.9). Diodorus describes how Cassander decided in 315 to rebuild the city and restore its population, inspired by the mythic fame of the site (19.52.2). This rebuilding included the reconstruction of its walls; the extant remains of the Electrae probably date to this period. Even after this rebuilding, the city never regained its former power. It was besieged by Demetrius Poliorcetes in the early third century, and then defeated by Sulla in the first.

Pausanias' first 'glimpse' of the city comes as his itinerary approaches from Plateia. It manifests, significantly, as a description of its walls (9.8.4):

> In the circuit of their ancient wall, the Thebans had gates seven in number, and these remain still to our own day.
>
> Θηβαίοις δὲ ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ τοῦ ἀρχαίου τείχους ἑπτὰ ἀριθμὸν ἦσαν πύλαι, μένουσι δὲ καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι.

Pausanias here confirms the accuracy of Homer's epithet; despite a millennium of fluctuating populations, successive building programs, and changing defensive needs, there are still seven gates. But these gates only express a strictly numerical continuity between the ruined present and the deep heroic past. Pausanias tells us nothing of their appearance. Whereas at the tomb of Amphion to the north of the Cadmeia he describes a course of roughly-quarried stones supposedly moved there by the sound of the hero's lyre (9.17.7), he does not invoke this story explicitly in relation to the walls, even though they were

7 See Osanna 2008 for a recent overview.

Amphion's most famous achievement. The second-century CE city would have had a variegated appearance; successive rebuildings may have highlighted the city's antiquity, but they could not visually replicate it. It is unclear how much of these walls still remained; certainly only their foundations would have maintained the Cyclopean aesthetic redolent of the miraculous building technique of Amphion. Later additions made obvious the true labor involved in maintaining defensive fortifications in a world in which destruction, degradation, rebuilding, and renovation were prosaic reality. Judging from the remains of the Electrae, its gates were impressive in size, but obviously Hellenistic. Thebes' walls were not preserved relics, like those of Mycenae or Tiryns, but distant descendants of their heroic forebears.

The epithet 'seven-gated' suggests a corporate entity. The gates' collective importance emerges clearly from Pausanias' first description of them: he describes them as an undifferentiated mass made significant by their number. On the ground, however, each gate must have had its own function. Given the value of Pausanias' eyewitness account of the city, his silence in one respect has proved frustrating. Pausanias reveals the location of just three gates since only the Electrae, Proetides, and Neistae are used in his itineraries. The *Periegesis* is frequently unsatisfying in this way. It is often used to reconstruct ancient places, but that is not its purpose. Pausanias uses ideal itineraries as an organizing structure. As William Hutton has shown, these are carefully constructed, efficient routes which take in the major sights without claiming exhaustive coverage.[8] Such a hodological approach is necessary for rendering space into words. That Pausanias' account does not pass in and out of all seven of Thebes' gates does not mean that this could not be done. Rather, the three gates that he chooses are useful for his routes through the city, and out into the hinterland: the Electrae, Proetides, and Neistae are located respectively to the south-east, north-east, and west of the Cadmeia, and thus the roads leading through them strike out in different directions.

Pausanias' itinerary enters Boeotia from Attica. It approaches the Cadmeia from the south-east, using the Electrae. It departs the Cadmeia by the Proetides (9.16.6), which give access to sites in the north-eastern part of the lower town and its surrounds, and then to 'the road to Chalcis' (9.18.1). Chapter 23 begins abruptly back at the Proetides, surveys the gymnasium and hippodrome, and then strikes out north, to Larymna (9.23.7) and then north-north-west to reach the gulf again at Halae (9.24.5). Returning to the Cadmeia once more, Pausanias' itinerary departs this last time from the Neistae (9.25.1), and heads

8 Hutton 2005, 83–126. He treats the itinerary through Boeotia at 88–89.

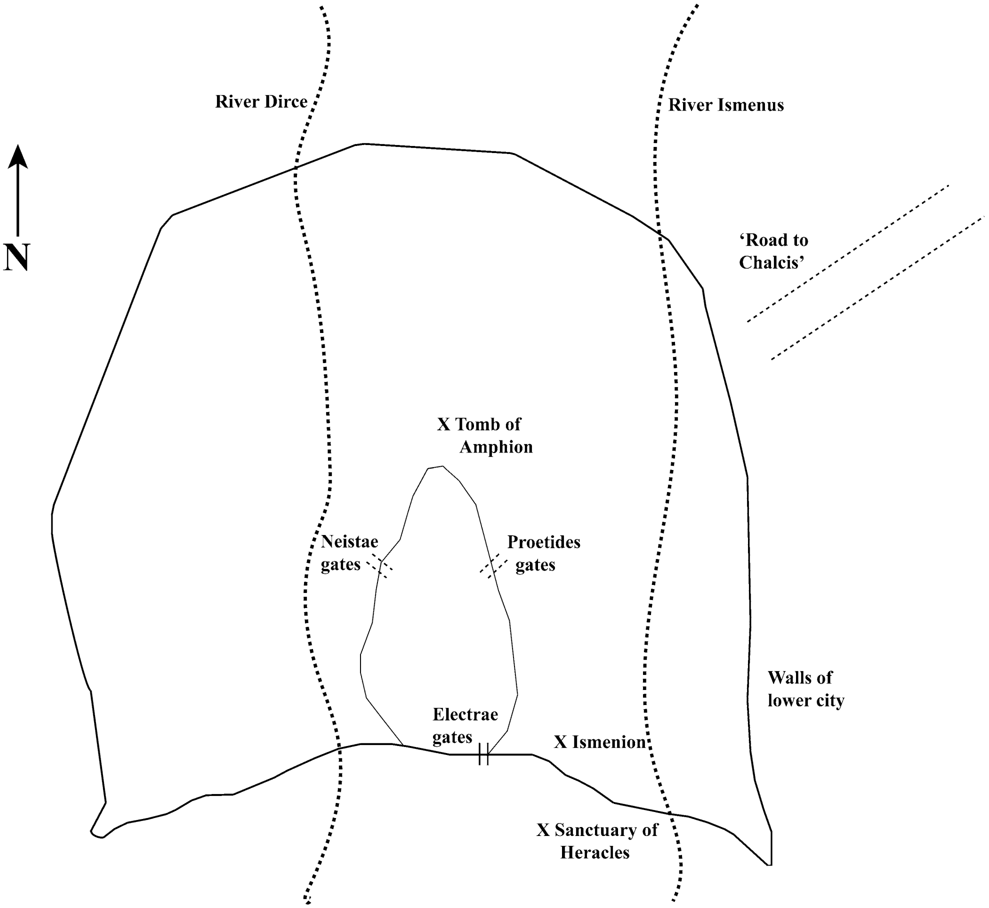


FIGURE 17.1 *Schematic plan of Thebes, showing approximate location of topographical features mentioned in this chapter*
DRAWN BY LILY WITHYCOMBE

due west. Thebes' gates, then, serve as centralizing points for the Boeotian itineraries, and play quite pragmatic roles in connecting the city to its surrounding area. Pausanias' choice of three particular gates is an assessment of their utility as access points. The distinctive structure of book 9, with the itineraries dominated so clearly by Thebes, expresses that city's cultural magnetism, so that 'Boeotia is hardly more than an annex to [it]'.[9] This may indeed reflect touristic assumptions; but it is also a response to deep-seated navigational habit. Boeotia's road network developed so that routes into and through

9 Kühr 2006, 368.

the region converged on the city.[10] We can trace at least poetic reflections of this habit much earlier: findings from a project at the University of Virginia ('Mapping the Catalogue of Ships') suggest that the organizing principle of the Boeotian section of the Catalogue of Ships lies not in a single linear itinerary (as in other sections of it), but in multiple itineraries radiating out from Thebes, which is the central point of focalization despite not being named.[11] The historical power of Thebes as an administrative, military, and economic center thus controlled how one moved through the region; its literary history modeled how one described it in relation to Boeotia.

In their everyday incarnations, the gates of Thebes were presumably not all alike: each led from somewhere and to somewhere. Pausanias' itinerary enters by the Electrae since these allow him to describe two major sanctuaries: that of Heracles to the left of the road, and the Ismenion to the right. Gates which bring the sightseer to the city also allow the inhabitant to visit the same sanctuaries. These kinds of habitual usages would have given each of Thebes' gates a particular character. These stones embodied, collectively, Homer's epithet and Thebes' heroic heritage. In allowing access into a walled acropolis, they also had, individually, their own roles to play in the ongoing life of the city.

## 3 Names

In naming Thebes 'seven-gated', Homer does not merely describe Theban topography (if indeed he does that); he constitutes it. The epithet is a piece of social knowledge.[12] The canonical number of these gates circulated independently of empirical knowledge of the city, and was not necessarily indicative of the exact configurations of its defenses at any one time. It also provided a point of local pride. When Pindar, a native Theban, uses the name 'seven-gated Thebes' (e.g., *Nem.* 4.19, *Isthm.* 8.16, *Pyth.* 3.90, 9.80, 11.13), we should understand him to be communicating something more than an eyewitness description of

10 Fossey 1988, 199.

11 The findings are outlined here: http://ships.lib.virginia.edu/neatline/show/the-boiotian-plain [accessed 10 March, 2016]. I note with interest the observation that Homer's Boeotian catalogue has seven syntactical groups of placenames; the researchers tentatively suggest that this might reflect the seven-fold organization of a catalogue of Boeotian allies recounted in relation to the Argive attack.

12 On epithets as 'social facts', see Skinner 2012, 115–121 (albeit on their ability to constitute ethnographical stereotypes, rather than topographical metonyms).

physical space. There is local value in echoing back and perpetuating a label which speaks to the city's broader fame. Pindar's 'topographical paraphrases'[13] in this instance are not necessarily unique to his native viewpoint nor to the demands of any particular audience.[14] Rather, they show up the impressive continuity of the 'sevenness' of Thebes, an idea that extends throughout antiquity, and connects descriptions of the city by outsiders to those of its inhabitants.

Listing the names of these gates became a traditional part of the story of the Argive attack from at least the *Seven against Thebes* of Aeschylus.[15] Such catalogues produce a distinctive perspective on Thebes' topography. When each gate is named, it becomes an individualized landmark. And yet, the very act of listing seven names maintains the idea of the gates as a corporate mass. As always, the number of the gates is of prime importance. Each extant list gives exactly seven names, even though none of these lists gives identical names, and several are highly divergent.[16] Such heterogeneity typifies the problem of Theban topography more generally. Our best sources for the topography of the city are literary accounts produced outside of it. Here the influence of tragedy must be recognized. Froma Zeitlin memorably described Thebes as a *topos*, 'no larger than the extent of the stage in the theater of Dionysos',[17] an anti-Athens whose dramas created a particular kind of ethical terrain. Here then, the stories staged at Thebes are integral parts of its poetic landscape. But mimetic space may nevertheless possess topographical exactitude. The long second episode of Aeschylus' *Seven against Thebes* has Eteocles and a messenger describe in sequence a series of paired champions: seven gates, defended by seven heroes, attacked by another seven, with seven shield devices as their representatives. The famous number of gates determines the mechanical logic of the drama. Here the spaces of Thebes are rendered entirely in words, they are places in

13 This is Maša Ćulumović's phrase (see her chapter in the volume, p. 377).

14 Indeed, as Daniel Berman has shown, Pindar treats the topography of the city in ways broadly similar to his epic predecessors and his younger contemporary Aeschylus (Berman 2007a, 21–26; Berman 2015, chs. 2, 3).

15 We are of course hampered in our knowledge of the early tradition of the Theban story on account of the loss of the archaic epics which treated it, and a number of tragedies. For Thebes in fragments of early mythography, see Berman 2013; for the fragments of Theban epic, see Davies 2015.

16 These lists are found in: Aesch. *Sept.* 375–652, Eur. *Phoen.* 106–181, 1104–1140, Paus. 9.8.4–7, Apollod. 3.6.6, Stat. *Theb.* 8.351–357. The names found in Hyg. *Fab.* 69 and Nonnus, *Dion.* 5.67 are highly divergent. For these catalogues, see Berman 2007b, 90.

17 Zeitlin 1990, 130.

which a future drama will play out. And what of the topography of this episode? Some of these gates are simply names; others—as Daniel Berman has shown—are localized in relation to identifiable landmarks: the Borraeae [Northern] gates are near the tomb of Amphion (Aesch. *Sept.* 526–528), Tydeus must cross the Ismenus (a river to the east of the city) to reach the Proetides (377–379), and the Homoloides are nearby.[18] Such localizations suggest a concern with the actual Boeotian city. But then again the climax of the action—the duel between Eteocles and Polyneices—takes place at the *Hebdomai* ['Seventh'] gates, whose significance is not spatial but onomastic; these cannot be localized.[19] From the distance of the Theater of Dionysus, Theban topography was both set in stone (a walled city with exactly seven gates and known topographical features) and malleable (the gates' exact names are available for revision, their locations sometimes vague).

This literary habit of cataloguing Thebes' gates affects Pausanias' description of the site. After noting that Thebes does indeed still have seven gates, he names them (9.8.4–7):

> One, I learned, got its name from Electra, sister of Cadmus, another was called Proetides after a local man. But the date and ancestry of Proetus were hard to discover. They say that the Neistae were named for this reason: they call the outermost string of the lyre the *nêtê*, and they say that Amphion invented it at these gates. I have also heard that Amphion's brother Zethus had a son named Neis, and that they were named after him. The Crenaeae and the Hypsistae are named for the following reasons: [there is a spring near the Crenaeae and] beside the Hypsistae there is a sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistus. The next gates are named Ogygeae; the last are the Homoloides. The name of these last gates seemed to me the most recent, and that of the Ogygeae the oldest. They say that the Homoloides were named for this reason: when the Thebans were defeated in battle by the Argives near Glisas, most of them escaped with Laodamas, son of Eteocles. But some of them preferred not to travel to Illyria, and so went to Thessaly where they seized Homole, the most fertile and best watered of the Thessalian mountains. But Thersander, son of Polyneices, recalled them to their homes, and so they named the gates through which they returned the Homoloides, after Homole.

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18 Berman 2007b, 98–102.

19 Berman 2007b, 104–105.

> τεθῆναι δὲ τὰ ὀνόματα ἐπυνθανόμην σφίσιν ἀπό τε Ἠλέκτρας ἀδελφῆς Κάδμου καὶ Προιτίσιν ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων· ἡλικίαν δὲ Προίτου καὶ τὸ ἀνωτέρω γένος χαλεπὰ ἦν εὑρεῖν. τὰς δὲ Νηίστας ὀνομασθῆναί φασιν ἐπὶ τῷδε. ἐν ταῖς χορδαῖς νήτην καλοῦσι τὴν ἐσχάτην· ταύτην οὖν τὴν χορδὴν Ἀμφίονα ἐπὶ ταῖς πύλαις ταύταις ἀνευρεῖν λέγουσιν. ἤδη δὲ ἤκουσα καὶ ὡς Ζήθου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ Ἀμφίονος τῷ παιδὶ ὄνομα Νῆις γένοιτο, ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ τοῦ Νήϊδος τὰς πύλας κληθῆναι ταύτας. πύλας δὲ Κρηναίας ⟨...⟩, τὰς δὲ Ὑψίστας ἐπὶ λόγῳ τοιῷδε ὀνομάζουσι· πρὸς δὲ ταῖς Ὑψίσταις Διὸς ἱερὸν ἐπίκλησίν ἐστιν Ὑψίστου. τὰς δὲ ἐπὶ ταύταις πύλας ὀνομάζουσιν Ὠγυγίας, τελευταῖαι δέ εἰσιν Ὁμολωίδες· ἐφαίνετο δὲ εἶναί μοι καὶ τὸ ὄνομα νεώτατον ταῖς πύλαις ταύταις, αἱ δὲ Ὠγύγιαι τὸ ἀρχαιότατον. τὰς δὲ Ὁμολωίδας κληθῆναί φασιν ἐπὶ τοιῷδε. ἡνίκα ὑπὸ Ἀργείων μάχῃ πρὸς Γλίσαντι ἐκρατήθησαν, τότε ὁμοῦ Λαοδάμαντι τῷ Ἐτεοκλέους ὑπεξίασιν οἱ πολλοί· τούτων οὖν μοῖρα τὴν μὲν ἐς τοὺς Ἰλλυριοὺς πορείαν ἀπώκνησε, τραπόμενοι δὲ ἐς Θεσσαλοὺς καταλαμβάνουσιν Ὁμόλην, ὀρῶν τῶν Θεσσαλικῶν καὶ εὔγεων μάλιστα καὶ ὕδασιν ἐπιρρεομένην. Θερσάνδρου δὲ τοῦ Πολυνείκους ἀνακαλεσαμένου σφᾶς ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα, τὰς πύλας διὰ ὧν τὴν κάθοδον ἐποιοῦντο ἀπὸ τῆς Ὁμόλης ὀνομάζουσιν Ὁμολωίδας.

This catalogue differs from others in that it does not connect Thebes' walls explicitly to the story of the Argive attack. Rather, Pausanias explains each gate's name within the broader nexus of Theban traditions. These encompass the stories of Cadmus (Electrae), and Amphion (Neistae), the attack of the Epigoni (Homoloides), and local cult (Hypsistae). The arbitrariness of these etymologies (why must Neistae derive from *nêtê*?) should not cloud our recognition of their appropriateness in context; they reveal a web of inherent significance.[20] These etymologies 'anchor' the gates; their names mediate between physical points of reference and the conceptual traditions of the city's past.[21]

Pausanias' list does not follow strict topographical order. It has a less obvious hierarchy: the first three gates named—Electrae, Proetides, and Neistae—are the only three which reappear in his later itineraries, and they are named in the order that they are 'used'. The prominence of these three gates is apparent in tragedy. The first three gates named by Aeschylus are Proetides, Electrae,

20 Explanations for the names of these gates are not common. In antiquity, Hyginus (*Fab.* 69) had Amphion name them for his seven daughters (his catalogue overlaps substantially with that of the seven female Niobids (11)); Nonnus (*Dion.* 5.67) had Cadmus name them after heavenly bodies. More recently, Symeonoglou 1985, 36, who posited two Mycenaean circuits on the Cadmeia, suggested that the gates of the MH one were named for mythical women.

21 For the 'anchoring' function of etymology, see Sluiter 2014.

and Neistae (*Sept.* 375–379). The catalogue of Euripides' *Phoenician Women* likewise begins with the Neistae and Proetides (the Electrae are sixth).[22] At least two of these gates were topographically located: Aeschylus (as we have seen) places the Proetides near the Ismenus river, which would put them on the eastern Cadmeia (*Sept.* 377–379). Pindar describes sacrifices to the children of Heracles taking place 'above the Electrae' (Ἀλεκτρᾶν ὕπερθεν, *Isthm.* 4.61), which should put them in the vicinity of the sanctuary of Heracles to the south of the Cadmeia. In Euripides' *Bacchae* Pentheus orders the Electrae garrisoned to protect the city from the Bacchants on Cithaeron to the south (780–785). In his *Suppliant Women* a messenger names the Ismenus hill, to the east of the Cadmeia at its southern end, as the first landmark he sees from a tower near the Electrae (650–665). The prominence of the Electrae generally in Attic tragedy is notable. This is the gate that a visitor from Athens, as well as an attacker from Argos, would encounter. We know the location of the Hellenistic gates associated with this name, as these must be the remains of two towers excavated to the south-east of the Cadmeia. Where exactly these gates were in relation to the double walls of the city is, however, unclear. Keramopoullos' map shows them on the Cadmeian circuit just within the walls of the lower city, although the course of the two circuits is hypothetical here.[23] In my schematic plan (Fig. 17.1 above) I have, following Osanna's reasoning,[24] shown them where both circuits meet. Whichever reconstruction is correct, we might certainly wonder whether the second circuit of walls in fact increased the prominence of the Electrae: the single defensive wall along the Cadmeia's southern elevation meant that these gates were closer to the outside of the city than most other gates on the Cadmeian circuit.

In the wider tradition, then, the names of the particular gates that Pausanias singles out were not merely relatively stable, but prominent, and often locatable. But is this an instance of famous names, or useful stones? Were the names of these three gates well known because these gates were commonly used? Or did the prominence of these three names in prior traditions influence Pausanias' itinerary? A dogmatic answer would not suffice here; the truth must lie in a mixture of these scenarios, with the monuments and the traditions surrounding them in constant interplay both at Thebes and beyond it.

22 This connection is less clear in non-tragic catalogues: Statius (*Theb.* 8.351–357) has them second, fourth, fifth; in Apollodorus (3.6.6) the Neistae are lacking, the other two are named third and sixth.

23 Keramopoullos 1917, reprinted in Berman 2015, 171.

24 Osanna 2008, 252.

## 4 Stories

There are two prominent stories attached to Thebes' walls. The first details their construction, the second the attacks of the Argives and then the Epigoni. I quoted above the two passages from Homer which use the epithet 'seven-gated'; one concerns the building of the walls, the other their destruction. Corinne Pache has pointed out that the recurrence of the distinctive formulaic phrase 'the seat of seven-gated Thebes' (Θήβης ἕδος … ἑπταπύλοιο, *Od.* 11.262, *Il.* 4.406) connects both passages; that this phrase is the direct object of two contrasting verbs ('they built' (ἔκτισαν)/'we took' (εἵλομεν)) underlines the parallelism: the destruction of the walls echoes their construction.[25] The epigrammatist Honestus (first century CE) replicates this poetic logic.[26] Describing Thebes as vacillating constantly between exceptionally good fortune and bad, he puts in the first category the 'wall-singing lyre' (τειχομελὴς κιθάρη), and in the second the 'dissonant flute' (αὐλὸς δύσμουσος, *Anth. Pal.* 9.216). This 'flute' references the tradition that a flautist played as the walls were pulled down in 335 BCE. In another epigram he fleshes out these allusions (*Anth. Pal.* 9.250):

> I, Thebes, rose to the sound of a lyre, but was destroyed to the sound of a flute.
> Alas for the Muse opposed to harmony!
> Lying silent are the lyre-enchanted remains of my towers,
> stones which went under their own steam to the Muse-built walls,
> a boon without toil, Amphion: you built your seven-gated
> homeland with your seven-stringed lyre.
>
> Ἔστην ἐν φόρμιγγι, κατηρείφθην δὲ σὺν αὐλῷ
> Θήβη· φεῦ Μούσης ἔμπαλιν ἁρμονίης·
> κωφὰ δέ μοι κεῖται λυροθελγέα λείψανα πύργων,
> πέτροι μουσοδόμοις τείχεσιν αὐτόμολοι,
> σῆς χερός, Ἀμφίων, ἄπονος χάρις· ἑπτάπυλον γὰρ
> πάτρην ἑπταμίτῳ τείχισας ἐν κιθάρῃ.

In Honestus, as in Homer, the walls have their own biography, crafted diachronically from their creation to their destruction (here by Alexander's forces rather than the Epigoni) and synchronically through tidy verbal and thematic paral-

25 Pache 2014, 282–283.

26 For discussion of these epigrams, see Hartigan 1979, 62–66.

lels.[27] Such narrative symmetry does not obtain in Pausanias' account: it is no simple matter to map the proliferation of myth onto a concrete, changeable, and rather more complex site.

Thebes had two founding narratives: the story of Cadmus and his crop of Spartoi, and that of Amphion and Zethus. These stories do not admit a clear chronological, genealogical, or topographical logic.[28] The only known story of wall-building at Thebes had rocks moving into position of their own accord, animated by the music of Amphion's lyre. Must 'seven-gated Thebes' thus be the work of Amphion? In some accounts (like the one by Honestus above) this is explicitly the case; in others, the connection is less explicit.[29] Pindar invokes Thebes as 'the people of Cadmus in the city of Zethus' (*Pae*. 9.44) yet elsewhere describes the 'strong walls of Cadmus' (*Isthm*. 6.75) and the 'gates of Cadmus' (*Pyth*. 8.47). *Pythian* 3.88–91 has Cadmus and Harmonia celebrating their wedding 'in seven-gated Thebes'. As Robert Fowler pragmatically points out, the logical inconsistencies raised by these brief topographical phrases are beside the point: 'Has [Cadmus] already built the walls, or has he inherited ready-made ones from Amphion and Zethos? … It is doubtful whether Pindar posed himself such historiographical questions.'[30]

But Pausanias must answer such questions in his myth-history of the city. Thebes is distinguished in Pausanias' account with a long introduction (9.5–8) before the itineraries begin. Thus, he describes Thebes in two ways: he gives a chronological account of its *logoi*, then a topographical account of its *theôrêmata*. In the former, he makes Cadmus the original founder and the builder of the Cadmeia (9.5.2). Amphion and Zethus add the lower city, meaning that it is the second circuit of walls which was constructed through the power of Amphion's music.[31] In support of this arrangement, Pausanias quotes *Odyssey* 11.263–265. It's worth looking at this passage again:

27 For the biography of objects, see Grethlein 2008, 35–43.

28 See Berman 2004.

29 Hurst 2000 provides a useful collection of sources.

30 Fowler 2013, 351, 352.

31 In localizing the stories in this way (also at 2.6.4), Pausanias agrees with Diod. Sic. 19.53.4–5 (who reads the Odyssean passage in the same way); Apollod. 3.4–5 also arranges them chronologically in this order, although without the topographical implications. Eur. *Phoen*. 820–829 narrates Amphion's building of the walls after the sowing of the dragon's teeth. Pherecydes (fr. 41 Fowler), by contrast, perhaps had Cadmus re-founding the city after its first founding by Amphion and Zethus (see Berman 2004, 2–6; Olivieri 2011, 24–27; Fowler 2013, 226, 352–353). For descriptions of the site prior to these foundations, see Berman (forthcoming).

> [Amphion and Zethus], who first founded the seat of seven-gated Thebes
> and surrounded it with towers, since without fortifications they were not able
> to dwell in broad Thebes.
>
> οἳ πρῶτοι Θήβης ἕδος ἔκτισαν ἑπταπύλοιο
> πύργωσάν τ᾽, ἐπεὶ οὐ μὲν ἀπύργωτόν γ᾽ ἐδύναντο
> ναιέμεν εὐρύχορον Θήβην.

Homer narrates only one founding of Thebes; his 'first founded' thus reads unnaturally alongside Pausanias' interpretation, which makes it the second foundation of two. Pausanias' argument, however, does make sense of the particular site that he has in front of him. A double foundation obtains on a double-walled site. The epithet 'broad' (εὐρύχορος) no longer describes a low acropolis, but rather specifies the part of the city that sits on the plain. The meaning of Homer's words has shifted in response to the changing physical form of the site, as indeed has the very toponym 'Thebes'. Pausanias' solution takes names as evidence. He distinguishes between the acropolis, called 'Cadmeia', and the lower city, 'Thebes', even while admitting that the current inhabitants of Thebes make no such distinction (9.7.6). Pausanias' terminology is crucial as it shores up his emplotment of the story: the Cadmeia was founded by Cadmus, and thus given his name; 'broad' Thebes was the addition of Amphion and Zethus, and named for their relative Thebe (9.5.6).

Pausanias' solution makes sense of both Thebes' double foundation, and its later topographical form at this point in his narrative. Nonetheless, his insistence that there were *two* walls at Thebes with mythical significance does not influence his later description of the city. He never mentions the walls—or gates—of the lower city in his itineraries. When he describes the 'ancient wall' of Thebes, which had and still has seven gates (9.8.4–7, quoted above p. 435), he must be referring to the Cadmeian circuit; this, seemingly, is the wall that matters, these are the gates that count.[32] Although this wall was

32 That Pausanias places the seven gates of Thebes on the Cadmeia is now the common opinion after various disputes at the turn of the last century (on which see Berman 2007b, 91–96, Berman 2015, Appendix II). A recent point of dissent has been offered by Massimo Osanna (Osanna 2008, 253–254; Moggi and Osanna 2010, 271), who argues that, although the Electrae and Neistae were in the Cadmeian circuit, the Proetides were on the lower circuit.

(according to his previous plan) the work of Cadmus, Pausanias does not make this connection explicit in his topographical survey; he gives no story of its construction. The etymologies he gives of the gate names do not create a diachronic biography of the walls, but 'anchor' each in a piecemeal fashion to the various traditions woven through the fabric of the city. When Pausanias explains the name of the Neistae as commemorating the place where Amphion invented the *nêtê* (the seventh string of the lyre), we need not historicize this and conclude that Amphion made his discovery at a gate built by his predecessor Cadmus. Rather, we should understand it in relation to Pausanias' earlier comment that Amphion added three further strings to the lyre's original four (9.5.7). Implicitly, then, Amphion's seven-stringed instrument belongs to a seven-gated circuit of walls, and Pausanias' account activates this association even if it does not make Amphion the builder of the walls. We saw this same tidy symbolism in Honestus (above); it also appears in Philostratus' *Imagines* (1.10.3). The mythology of Thebes allows for only one circuit of seven gates; thus Pausanias' tidy chronological solution only satisfies particular parts of the tradition. Here is just one example of the practical difficulty in making diverse stories attach definitively to the exact arrangement of stones on a singular site with a long history. It is also an example of the way that Thebes attracted stories of 'sevenness', and it is to the most famous instance of Seven at Thebes that I now turn.

We have seen already that Aeschylus' *Seven against Thebes* made careful correlations between named gates and named heroes who fought there. This mode of narration proved influential. The very drama of the Argive attack, then, expresses the numerical fame of Thebes' topography. When Pausanias describes at Argos 'standing statues of Polyneices, son of Oedipus, and of all the commanders who died fighting with him before the walls of Thebes' (ἀνδριάντες ἑστήκασι Πολυνείκους τοῦ Οἰδίποδος καὶ ὅσοι σὺν ἐκείνῳ τῶν ἐν τέλει πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος μαχόμενοι τὸ Θηβαίων ἐτελεύτησαν, 2.20.5), he appends an intriguing comment (2.20.5):

> Aeschylus reduced the number of these men to just seven, although there were more leaders, from Argos, Messene, and even some Arcadians. There are seven here, too, for the Argives have followed the account of Aeschylus, and near them are statues of those who sacked Thebes [i.e., the Epigoni].
>
> τούτους τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐς μόνων ἑπτὰ ἀριθμὸν κατήγαγεν Αἰσχύλος, πλειόνων ἔκ τε Ἄργους ἡγεμόνων καὶ Μεσσήνης καί τινων καὶ Ἀρκάδων στρατευσαμένων. τούτων δὲ τῶν ἑπτὰ—ἐπηκολουθήκασι γὰρ καὶ Ἀργεῖοι τῇ Αἰσχύλου ποιήσει—πλησίον κεῖνται καὶ οἱ τὰς Θήβας ἑλόντες.

Pausanias seems to consider Aeschylus' account incongruous on the ground. Why should this be?[33] Firstly, we might note that Aeschylus does not have seven Argives: there are seven champions assigned to gates, plus Adrastus, their leader. This, indeed, is the typical arrangement. Pausanias does not name those depicted in the sculpture group at Argos, but given that the eleven Epigoni depicted nearby are descended from eight fathers (including Adrastus), the group he describes as being 'seven' probably contained eight figures.[34] To label the story of the Argive attack the 'Seven against Thebes' is thus a kind of shorthand more indicative of Theban topography than of the true number of these heroes. Secondly, the neatness of Aeschylus' account, which creates tidy relationships between the gates and the heroes, is in fact at odds with both the cumulative impact of these literary traditions, and the situation 'on the ground'.

Just as the gates form themselves into a collective mass, but also permit individuality, so too some of the Argive attackers are more prominent than others. Myth added 'charisma' to some Argives, while others remained more or less just names. In this first category we should place the leader Adrastus, who survives the battle; the Arcadian Parthenopaeus, son of Atalanta; Capaneus, struck down by Zeus' thunderbolt; Amphiaraus, the seer who is tricked into joining the expedition by his wife Eriphyle and disappears during the battle; and, of course, Polyneices, whose rivalry with his brother Eteocles is at the heart of tragic treatments. Tydeus is distinguished by his importance in genealogy (as the father of Diomedes) and early attestation as a leader of the expedition (*Il.* 4.372–400); the story that he would have achieved immortality had he not consumed the brains of Melanippus likewise sets him apart. To these 'core' figures, the tragedians typically follow Aeschylus in adding two less colorful champions, Hippomedon and Eteoclus.[35] In his *Phoenician Women*, Euripides innovates in making Adrastus an attacker and thus counting seven Argives, not eight; his omission of Eteoclus suggests that this hero's presence was not crucial to the story. Whereas the tragedians keep to the same set of names, other combatants are found elsewhere: the Argive statue group at Delphi included a certain Alitherses in place of Parthenopaeus (Paus. 10.10.3). Stesichorus mentions a Lycurgus (fr. 194D), and this figure also appears in pictorial depictions.

33 For this passage, and the general question of the identity of the 'Seven' at Thebes, see Cingano 2002, to which my discussion in much indebted, and Davies 2015, 68–95.

34 If the group described by Pausanias is to be equated with an inscribed pillar marking a *hêrôon* at Argos, this does not help either, having only ΕΡΟΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΕΝ ΘΕΒΑΙΣ. An Argive donation at Delphi from the 450s also has seven champions plus Adrastus (Paus. 10.10.3–4).

35 Aeschylus' list is found also in Eur. *Supp.* 857–931, and Soph. *OC* 1311–1325.

Most relevant for our purposes is Mecisteus, whom Herodotus names as the killer of the Theban defender Melanippus (5.67). The Herodotean passage suggests a strong tradition almost contemporary with the tragedies.[36]

Pausanias' observation that Aeschylus reduced the number of Argive attackers is not then evidence of the diachronic development of this tradition. Rather, it stands as an observation on the way in which the definitive Aeschylean form sat uneasily against the proliferation of these heroes 'on the ground'. In the story, only seven—really, eight—Argives can attack the seven gates of Thebes, and yet like the names of the gates themselves, the number of named attackers is—collectively—greater than the seven-fold tradition should allow.

## 5 Bodies

The disposal of the bodies of heroes in the landscape anchors myth in quite pragmatic ways. Tombs locate the heroic past in the civic present, they strengthen local ties to panhellenic networks of knowledge, and they afford places for ritual. To name the hero buried in a tomb explicitly attaches stories to stones; in practical terms, these stones 'cue' the telling of the story.[37] The attack of the Argives left a city full of bodies in need of burial. Traditions regarding these burial places illustrate the interplay between myth and landscape, localism and panhellenism, consensus and dispute. More than this, they illustrate once more the uneasy tensions inherent within the habitual 'sevenness' of Thebes.

Pindar twice mentions seven pyres on which the Argive heroes were cremated (*Ol.* 6.15, *Nem.* 9.24). Although these pyres are localized quite vaguely (on the Theban plain in *Ol.* 6, and beside the Ismenus in *Nem.* 9), he may be referencing a particular landmark to the east of the Cadmeia, perhaps related to the place where Amphiaraus disappeared.[38] An overly-rationalistic explanation would come unstuck here. In no version of the Argive attack are exactly

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36 Mecisteus is also named in the context of the attack on Thebes in Corinna (P.Oxy. 2372), and in other contexts by Homer (*Il.* 23.678) and Hesiod (fr. 192 M–W). See Cingano 2002, 47–48.

37 For the ways material remains 'cue' stories, see Elizabeth Minchin's chapter in this volume.

38 See Berman 2015, 60–62. Pindar connects the pyres explicitly in *Ol.* 6 and implicitly in *Nem.* 9 to Amphiaraus' disappearance. Pausanias describes two claims to the site of the disappearance (neither suited to Pindar's purposes): on the road from Potniae to Thebes (9.8.3); and at (ruined) Harma, in the territory of the people of Tanagra (9.19.4, also Strabo 9.2.11).

seven Argive bodies left at Thebes to be disposed of: Adrastus escapes back to Argos, and the seer Amphiaraus disappears into the earth (a story Pindar narrates in both passages).[39] We should understand the seven pyres not as a mythological problem begging a precise narrative aetiology, but as a resonant doublet of the gates themselves. They are created out of the familiar 'sevenness' of Thebes; they convey the 'gist' of the story, and not narrative exactitude.[40]

In tragedy, the material issue of burial is central to themes of divided loyalties and inter-*polis* relationships which animate the drama of Thebes.[41] In Aeschylus' *Seven against Thebes* the chorus comments darkly that the land that Eteocles and Polyneices inhabit in death is the only territory they have 'won' through their rivalry (945–948). Sophocles' *Antigone* turns on the issue of the proper way to bury a brother who is also a traitor; in Euripides' *Suppliant Women*, the burial of all of the Argives is a diplomatic issue: Capaneus is interred at Eleusis (938, 980–981); the other leaders are cremated and taken to Argos (1168, 1185–1186); the rank-and-file are buried on Cithaeron (757).[42] We should note that, unlike the situation implied by Pindar's seven pyres, there is a keen interest in the burial of individuals, and not merely of the group.

The different solutions for burial arrived at in tragedy—at Thebes (*Seven against Thebes*, perhaps), at Eleusis, Argos, and Cithaeron/Eleutherae (*Suppliant Women*), and left unburied (*Antigone*)—could be understood as ontological statements about the placement of bodies in the Greek landscape. And yet not all tragic alternatives mirrored (or inspired) physical tombs: despite the implications of *Suppliant Women*, and despite the Argives having maintained a *hêrôon* from the mid-sixth century BCE, there is no explicit tradition of tombs at Argos.[43] The Eleusinian connection, by contrast, seems an obvious attempt to insert Athenian interests into this Theban-Argive narrative, and

39 This indeed is the argument of Schol. (A) Pind. *Ol.* 6.23a (who adds also that Polyneices remained unburied). The scholion says further, drawing on the Theban mythographer Armenidas, that the 'seven pyres' might rather be named for the seven children of Niobe. (On the dynamics of this dispute, see Steinbock 2013, 166–168.) The number of the Niobids varies, but Eur. *Phoen.* 159 gives seven *girls*; Hyg. *Fab.* 69 connects the seven female Niobids to seven Theban gates.

40 See most recently Fowler 2013, 413–414. For narrative 'gist', see Small 2003, 157–172 (in relation to the textual 'inaccuracy' of visual iconography).

41 The question of burial in Aesch. *Sept.* and Eur. *Phoen.* is of course complicated by their interpolated endings.

42 Aeschylus' *Eleusinians* perhaps had more bodies buried at Eleusis (Plut. *Thes.* 29.5); this is also implied in Hdt. 9.27.3.

43 See Hall 1999, 52–55.

yet both Plutarch and Pausanias report tombs there (Plut. *Thes.* 29.5; Paus. 1.39.2).[44] In the west cemetery at Eleusis there was walled off in the eighth century a group of Mycenaean tombs: seven substantial ones, a smaller one, and a ninth sitting partly within the precinct, and partly outside of it.[45] However we understand this evidence, it does make us aware of a distinctive element of both Plutarch's and Pausanias' accounts: both seemingly describe a collective grouping of Argive graves: neither gives an exact number of tombs, but likewise neither names individually the heroes said to be buried there.

By contrast, at Thebes, these heroes were commemorated individually, and as opportunities allowed. The contingencies of the built environment offered particular kinds of resonant monuments, with diverse relationships to the literary traditions. Pausanias' account does reflect something of the systematic pairing of gates with heroes so influentially conveyed in Aeschylus' *Seven against Thebes*. As his itinerary enters through the Electrae he comments that this was where 'they say' Capaneus was struck down by Zeus' thunderbolt (9.8.7). In both Aeschylus (*Sept.* 423) and Euripides (*Phoen.* 1128–1133) Capaneus attacks the Electrae, so Pausanias' conventional epichoric attribution ('they say') in fact ventriloquizes canonical literary tradition. There is no physical memorial except the gates themselves. Near the Neistae, a pillar topped by a stone shield marks the spot of the duel of Eteocles and Polyneices; a nearby area is called the 'dragging of Antigone' (σῦρμα Ἀντιγόνης) as this is where Antigone dragged the body of Polyneices to Eteocles' pyre (9.25.2). We have seen that in Aeschylus the location of the brothers' duel is emphatically not localized: the *Hebdomai* gates cannot be pinned down even according to poetic cartography. In *Phoenician Women*, Iocasta discovers the bodies at the Electrae (1570). The dramatic power of this event nonetheless makes it unsurprising that the Thebans might have found a place for it in their city. This area to the west of the Cadmeia, then, has stones, names, and stories; but for bodies, we must look to the east.

The road that led out through the Proetides, and ultimately to Chalcis, made its way through a number of cemeteries.[46] It is in this part of the city that Pausanias describes tombs of the Argive attackers and Theban defenders. Although the spatial arrangements of these tombs are far from clear in Pausanias' account (and cannot be recovered archaeologically), it is significant that he narrates

44 For the intricate connections between Attic tragedy and local traditions regarding these burials, see Steinbock 2013, 159–169.

45 For discussion see Antonaccio 1995, 112–117, who is skeptical of connecting them to the tombs mentioned by Plutarch and Pausanias.

46 For a recent overview of excavations, see Farinetti 2011, 364–365.

them as a 'cluster' of two sets of paired opponents, thus maintaining the narrative force of the stories that intertwine them. So (9.18.1–3):

> The tomb pointed out on the road is that of Melanippus, who was amongst the best of the fighters at Thebes. At the time of the Argive attack, this Melanippus killed Tydeus, and Mecisteus, one of the brothers of Adrastus. They say that he himself was, in turn, killed by Amphiaraus. Quite close to this are three rough stones. The Thebans who know about the ancient past say that it is Tydeus who is buried here, and that he was buried by Maeon. And they provide as evidence a line of the *Iliad*:
>
> Of Tydeus who, at Thebes is covered by a mound of earth [14.114].
>
> Next to this are the tombs of the sons of Oedipus [Polyneices and Eteocles] … When they sacrifice to them, they say that the flame, and from it the smoke, splits in two.
>
> τάφος δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ λεωφόρῳ δείκνυται Μελανίππου, Θηβαίων ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἀγαθοῦ τὰ πολεμικά· καὶ ἡνίκα ἐπεστράτευσαν οἱ Ἀργεῖοι, Τυδέα ὁ Μελάνιππος οὗτος καὶ ἀδελφῶν τῶν Ἀδράστου Μηκιστέα ἀπέκτεινε, καί οἱ καὶ αὐτῷ τὴν τελευτὴν ὑπὸ Ἀμφιαράου γενέσθαι λέγουσι. τούτου δὲ ἐγγύτατα τρεῖς εἰσιν ἀργοὶ λίθοι· Θηβαίων δὲ οἱ τὰ ἀρχαῖα μνημονεύοντες Τυδέα φασὶν εἶναι τὸν ἐνταῦθα κείμενον, ταφῆναι δὲ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Μαίονος, καὶ ἐς μαρτυρίαν τοῦ λόγου παρέσχον τῶν ἐν Ἰλιάδι ἔπος
>
> Τυδέος, ὃν Θήβῃσι χυτὴ κατὰ γαῖα καλύπτει.
>
> ἑξῆς δέ ἐστι τῶν Οἰδίποδος παίδων μνήματα· … τούτοις δὲ ἐναγιζόντων αὐτῶν τὴν φλόγα, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀπ' αὐτῆς καπνὸν διχῇ διίστασθαι.

To begin with this second pair of tombs, Callimachus, too, had reported the phenomenon of the divided flame arising from sacrifices to Eteocles and Polyneices (fr. 105a, b). It is a physical, enduring incarnation of their mutual hatred. Ritual thus allows for a continuous manifestation of the story found in Statius' *Thebaid*, in which the flames of the brothers' shared pyre continue to fight (12.429–435).[47] At Thebes, then, the story of the single pyre is localized in a spot to the west of the Cadmeia, the story of the flame in a spot to the east.

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47 Harder 2012, 780–781 collects further references to the story of the divided flame related

The first two tombs mentioned by Pausanias are linked by narrative, if not so clearly by proximity: the Theban Melanippus is buried 'quite close' to his victim, the Argive Tydeus, whose primitive grave markers accord well with a burial distinguished by mention in Homer. This pair has a long history together: Aeschylus makes them opponents at the Proetides. But the rest of the nexus of stories that Pausanias alludes to is not part of the tragic tradition, but found in early epic and mythography: according to Pherecydes (fr. 97 Fowler), Tydeus, mortally-wounded by Melanippus, almost won immortality. But he offended the gods by eating the brain of his attacker, who had been killed in the meantime by Amphiaraus. This story perhaps goes back to the *Thebaid* (fr. 9 Bernabé). A fragment attributable to the Boeotian poet Corinna names these same three figures, and Mecisteus, thus giving the same four names as found in the passage of Pausanias.[48]

Pausanias mentions one final tomb along the same road, seemingly a good distance from Thebes: that of Asphodicus (9.18.6):

> This Asphodicus killed Parthenopaeus, son of Talaus, in the fight against the Argives, or so the Thebans say; the lines from the *Thebaid* which recount the death of Parthenopaeus say that Periclymenus was his killer.
>
> καὶ ὁ Ἀσφόδικος οὗτος ἀπέκτεινεν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῇ πρὸς Ἀργείους Παρθενοπαῖον τὸν Ταλαοῦ, καθὰ οἱ Θηβαῖοι λέγουσιν, ἐπεὶ τά γε ἐν Θηβαΐδι ἔπη τὰ ἐς τὴν Παρθενοπαίου τελευτὴν Περικλύμενον τὸν ἀνελόντα φησὶν εἶναι.

The Theban defenders are rather colorless in comparison to their Argive attackers. They are less frequently named, and little cult attached to them, even at Thebes.[49] Asphodicus is certainly obscure. He appears elsewhere only in Apollodorus 3.6.8 (in the form 'Amphidicus'), as one of three brothers of Melanippus defending Thebes. There he is again the killer of Parthenopaeus, and there again the commentator contrasts this tradition with the one that made Periclymenus Parthenopaeus' killer (in this case, the reference is to Eur. *Phoen.* 1157). Where Apollodorus' note on the proliferation of variants might be considered part of the mythographic impulse to tease out the diversity of Greek

to both tombs and the pyre. Some trace the shared pyre motif in Hyg. *Fab.* 72 to a lost tragedy, perhaps the *Antigone* of Euripides (see Gantz 1993, 520–521). That the hatred of combatants at Thebes could play out in cult is also the implication of Hdt. 5.67, regarding Adrastus and Melanippus.

48 On this fragment (P.Oxy. 2372), see Cingano 1997, 154–155; Cingano 2000, 159–161.

49 See Cingano 2000, 146–147, 152–154.

literature, in Pausanias we see what is at stake in a system which is so distinctively 'tolerant of plurality'.[50] The existence of stones—here a tomb—adds weightiness to this tradition; but what do these stones mark? This tomb is named—that is what makes it worthy of notice—but if someone else in fact killed Parthenopaeus, then its story cannot be as the Thebans tell it.

If the proliferation of the names of both gates and heroes threatens the central 'sevenness' of such traditions, so too can we see that plurality in storytelling allows for contradictory tombs which imply a proliferation of interred bodies. The singularity of material remains suggests a kind of local certainty, even if expressed in piecemeal fashion where opportunities allow; and yet, at a panhellenic level, the replication of monuments (tombs at both Eleusis and Thebes …) mirrors the rather messier dynamics of a cumulative tradition, in which each retelling of the story need not accord exactly with previous ones. There is no way of reconciling the tomb of a Theban defender called Asphodicus with the text of Aeschylus. Nor is there a single story which would explain Pindar's 'seven pyres', or the burial of the same Argives at both Eleusis and Thebes. Such peculiarities are the work of generations of creative individuals responding to the shifting network of stones, names, stories, and bodies, which together expressed the significance of Thebes' walls.

## 6 Conclusion

I began this chapter by commenting on the crucial role of representation in conveying a landscape, and I end with the same idea. As we get closer to these seven gates of Thebes, we become aware of the inevitable distance which separates us from them. For what indeed are these gates? They are amalgams, seen differently from different aspects. The city was sometimes ringed by an unbroken circuit; sometimes by two; and sometimes, both mythically and historically, it lay open to attackers, its defenses over-run. The walls are figments of language, and their verbal significance is clear both on site and off: recall the Homeric epithet 'seven-gated' taken up by Pindar, the catalogues of their names in tragedy, and the etymologies in Pausanias. They are encountered through proxies: the seven pyres of Pindar, the seven shield devices of Aeschylus, the seven strings of Amphion's lyre, the seven 'Argive' mothers of the chorus of Euripides' *Suppliant Women*,[51] perhaps even the seven Theban exiles who lead

50 Such tolerance is one theme of Buxton 1994.

51 This is another instance of the prevailing 'sevenness' of Thebes: not all of the mothers of

the uprising against the Spartan garrison in 379 BCE (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.1, 3). They could be represented in stone: the facings of the *skênai* of Hellenistic theatres, for example, which served as Theban walls on which Antigone could walk in productions of *Phoenician Women*. Even at Thebes, in Pausanias' time, these walls are mimetic: the seven gates of the *Periegesis* are relics of solid defenses built in tribute to the heroic ones.

The collective unity of the 'sevenness' of Thebes exists alongside a more granular view, one which gives distinct identity to its individual elements. So, the 'seven' Argives can be listed variously, as can the seven gates, and each element of these lists can have its own particular biography. The gates may be experienced as a corporate mass, or as singular monuments with their own particular roles to play. And indeed, these roles were pluralistic. We have noted the prominence of the Electrae in tragedies. A visitor, following Pausanias, should enter the Cadmeia through the Electrae thinking precisely of Capaneus' attack, or perhaps Alexander's (there is a common tomb to Thebans who died in 335 BCE near these gates (9.10.1)). Whereas the trauma of the Persian destruction left its traces in the literature of Athens,[52] we have no similarly intimate record of Theban responses to similar devastations. We can only imagine the particular meaning that these gates had for Thebans as they proved unable to withstand Alexander's assault, or for those who toiled in rebuilding them after 315 BCE, or for the exhausted residents of the city through the long siege by Demetrius Poliorcetes. In Pausanias' time the gates brought wealthy tourists into the city from the south; beyond their value as a reminder of Thebes' heritage and as a practical point of access, we might suspect that for Thebans of this period there were a visible asset: they had a monetary value in a city well past its prime.

In speaking of a landmark made of stones, names, stories, and bodies, I have ignored perhaps the most crucial element: people. Places are not inert; they are created out of human activity. Thebes' walls were made by generations of people: inhabitants, visitors, and those who visited only in their imaginations. Place-making requires active, constant investment in both the physical elements of landscape and its imaginative dimensions; in this way, the building, maintenance, and destruction of monuments find conceptual parallels in storytelling, and ritual practice. Three rough stones do not themselves make a monument; they need people to name them as the tomb of Tydeus, anti-

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the seven were Argives; at least one of these (Iocasta) should be dead by the time of the action of the play. See Morwood 2007, 143–144.

52 See Dougherty 2014.

quarians to make the connection to Homer, passersby to ask curious questions about how such a hero came to be buried there. The points of continuity that I have picked out across time and between the site itself and its literary incarnations are not essential, bloodless facets of the city, but integral products of habitual (which is not to say homogeneous, or unchanging) experience over a long period of time. If indeed Cassander's rebuilding of the city emphasized the prominent landmarks of its mythical topography—and Pausanias' account certainly seems to support this—then we should recognize the great energy marshaled at Thebes in maintaining a particular vision of the site, even as its physical form changed. If indeed the Cadmeia had seven gates from the archaic to the imperial period, we should set up against the easy familiarity of the epithet 'seven-gated' the manpower needed to maintain this same number of gates through various redesigns of perhaps shifting fortifications and certainly changing defensive needs. That 'seven-gated Thebes' maintained its essentialist lure in the panhellenic imagination throughout antiquity is notable; as is the very idea that Homer's words continued to determine the fortifications of a city desperately threatened not by Argive heroes, but by Macedonians and Romans.

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